

Gun Control Now / Localnomics / Should Obama Talk Deficit Reduction? By Joe Klein / Fall's Best Movies, Music, Books & More

TIME MARS

What we can learn from a robot
154 million miles away

BY JEFFREY KLUGER





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Photo-Illustration by Joe Zeff/Design for TIME.
Mars landscapes: NASA



Jessica Ennis of Great Britain competes in the long jump on her way to a gold medal in the heptathlon at the Olympics. Photograph by Lee Jin-man—AP

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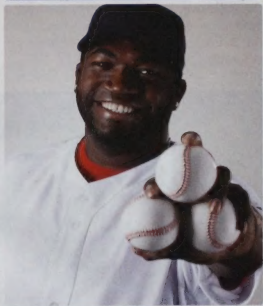


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MAIL



White House for Sale

Your cover stories on the emergence of megadonors in politics [Aug. 13] were appropriately depressing. But I question your assumption that this is what the

future will look like. Consider a political campaign whose only function is to spend, spend, spend. Then reflect that the winning candidate will inevitably frustrate his or her supporters. What will the megadonors do then? Try to undo their mistake by throwing twice as much money at the next candidate? Even the most hot-headed billionaires will tire of that game.

Charles R. Carr, ARLINGTON, MASS.

How many jobs could have been created by the billions of dollars the rich have instead spent—and will spend—on all the political campaigns at the federal level? My guess is that the unemployment rate would have dropped significantly.

William Kested, GENESE, ILL.

Why do we still bother with campaigns that are outrageously expensive and definitely not informative as far as the intentions of candidates are concerned? It is becoming clear that the country is run by large corporations and special interests who buy our political candidates. The people have no influence.

Helga Weber, COARSEGOLD, CALIF.

Jerusalem Divided

Re "The Ultra-Holy City" [Aug. 13] I take issue with the characterization of Avraham Stern as the Stern Gang's "fascist founder," which puts him in the same category as those who committed the Holocaust. He fought for the establishment of Israel in his own way, which may not be acceptable to everyone but certainly does not justify labeling him a fascist.

Felix Fischer, BOYNTON BEACH, FLA.

THE CONVERSATION

'A dark take on the 2012 election.'



That was the **Huffington Post's** assessment of our Aug. 13 cover package on the unprecedented spending in this year's battle for the White House. Many readers agreed. "The idea that the presidential campaigns will spend over \$2 billion is obscene," wrote **jennydawn** on **TIME.com**. "The Supreme Court and

entrenched financial interests have created a political system that no longer reflects the ideals of our Founding Fathers." On Facebook, **George Ross** was more sanguine: "You don't buy the White House... You rent it." **Swampland** cracked with debate over Karl Rove, who was profiled in the issue. Commenter **BenevolentLawyer** called Rove "the scariest person I have followed in politics." But **3xfire3** said, "Liberals hate him so much [because] they have no one as good."



A Boy's Life

Our photo blog **LightBox** features a photo-essay by Brenda Ann Kenneally, who spent more than eight years documenting the life of a young boy from Troy, N.Y., and his family. Kenneally's images chronicle the boy's struggles with emotional and behavioral disabilities, as well as the tutors and programs that have contributed to his progress. Learn more about his story at lightbox.time.com.

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Briefing

'Freedom of religion is a fundamental tenet of democracy. It's incredibly sad that victims were shot down while exercising that right.'

1. **SAPREET KAUR**, executive director of the Sikh Coalition, after a shooter killed six worshippers at a Sikh temple near Milwaukee

'Really?! I won two gold medals and ... what's trending is my hair?'

2. **GABRIELLE DOUGLAS**, 16-year-old U.S. Olympic gymnast, responding to social-media postings about her hair being unkempt during her history-making routines

'It's time for Harry to put up or shut up.'

3. **MITT ROMNEY**, presumptive Republican presidential nominee, demanding that Senate majority leader Harry Reid show proof to back his claims that Romney didn't pay taxes for a decade

'My mother used to tell us, "Carl, put on your shoes. Oscar, put on your prosthetic legs." So I grew up not thinking I had a disability. I grew up thinking I had different shoes.'

4. **OSCAR PISTORIUS**, South African sprinter, who on Aug. 4 in London became the first double amputee to compete in the Olympic Games; he finished eighth in the 400-m-dash semifinal

'Our social fabric is at risk of unraveling'

5. **NIKOS DENDIAS**, Greek Public Order Minister, reacting to what he called an "unprecedented invasion" of illegal immigrants into Greece; police detained 6,000 people in the first weekend of August in raids aimed at identifying illegals



9.63

Time, in seconds, of Usain Bolt's Olympic-record 100-m dash in London, just 0.05 seconds shy of his own world record

\$11 MILLION

Amount Jersey Shore star Paul "Pauly D" DelVecchio earned from DJ appearances over the past year

\$3,600

Lemonade-stand revenue earned in a week by 9-year-old Joshua Smith of Detroit; he donated the money to his struggling city



16,000

Number of women frisked by the New York Police Department in 2011 as part of its stop-and-frisk program; guns were found in just 59 instances

Briefing

LightBox



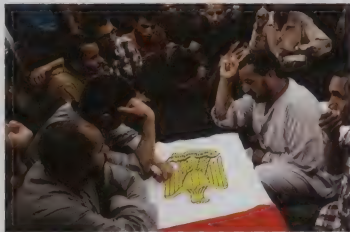


Some like it hot

Sweltering New Yorkers sprawl across Jones Beach on Aug. 4. This has been the Northeastern U.S.'s hottest year since record keeping began in 1895, a result, some say, of climate change

Photograph by Mario Tama—Getty Images
lightbox.time.com

World



Friends mourn one of 16 Egyptian soldiers killed at a border post

For Israel and Egypt, Trouble in the Sinai

1 | EGYPT On Aug. 5, militants attacked an Egyptian security post on the Sinai Peninsula near Israel and the Gaza Strip, killing 16 soldiers, stealing two armored vehicles and breaking across the border. An Israeli air strike eventually stopped both vehicles but not before the events sent Israel and Egypt into finger pointing as well as hesitant collaboration. Although local reports suggested the militants included both Palestinian fighters and Sinai-based Bedouin rebels—the latter have long troubled Cairo with threats to secede—the Israeli and Egyptian governments quickly condemned the action as the work of Palestinian terrorists, suggesting a coordinated response. In Cairo, however, others blamed the Palestinian Islamists of Hamas for the attack, further testing Egypt's new Islamist President Mohamed Morsy. By Aug. 7, Egyptian officials had reported that attack helicopters had killed up to 20 people in missile strikes, with operations in the region expected to continue. A long-term solution remains largely out of reach: Israel wants more security on the border but without a buildup of Egyptian troops.

A Witch Hunt In Moscow

2 | RUSSIA In February, three members of the punk band Pussy Riot staged a protest against then Prime Minister Vladimir Putin at Moscow's most prominent cathedral. Their agitprop went viral on YouTube but landed them in the middle of a battle over Russia's political future. Here are three things to know about their trial:

1

It's emblematic of Putin's new tyranny.

In most other countries, Pussy Riot's antics would have earned little more than a slap on the wrist. But Moscow's reaction points to a deep authoritarian streak on the part of Putin, who is now in his second stint as President.

2

It's based on unfair charges.

Three members of the band are charged with "hooliganism motivated by religious hatred," a felony in Russia that carries a minimum two-year prison sentence. The group says its action was purely political.



3

It's making lots of people angry.

The farcical trial has attracted legions of critics in Russia and abroad, including American pop stars Madonna, Patti Smith and the Red Hot Chili Peppers.



AUSTRALIA

'We also appeal to the person who has the skull in their possession to return it.'

ELLEN HOLLOW, great-grandniece of Australian legendary gunslinger outlaw **NED KELLY**, after her family finally received his remains 122 years after he was hanged by British colonial authorities. Kelly's skull was stolen in 1978 and remains missing.



An Unraveling Regime

3 | SYRIA The battle over Aleppo, Syria's largest city, intensified, with reports of thousands fleeing and hundreds being killed or injured—including this 15-year-old boy, whose home was pulverized by a government air strike. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Riad Hijab became the latest in a series of high-ranking officials—to defect from President Bashar Assad's regime to the rebels.

All the President's defectors

SENIOR MILITARY AND SECURITY

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

CABINET

PARLIAMENT

DIPLOMATS

XXX

XXXX

XXXXXXXXXX



Guards posted outside the courtroom where Gu is being tried for murder

When Things Aren't Going Swimmingly

4 | CHINA As top leaders met at a secretive beachside retreat, China's highest-profile trial got under way: that of Gu Kailai, wife of disgraced Communist Party official Bo Xilai. Gu is accused, along with an accomplice, of murdering a British businessman who may have had knowledge of the allegedly corrupt dealings that brought down Bo, once a rising star in the party. The scandal offered a glimpse of the cutthroat world of China's elite, especially when it is in the grips of a leadership transition. The resort of Baidaihe was traditionally the scene of party wrangling, but this year's is the first conclave held there since 2002.

LONDON

154

Countries with fewer all-time Olympic medals than Michael Phelps, including Morocco (21 medals), Chile (13) and Vietnam (two)



Total winnings for the nation of Phelps

Show Me Your Papers

5 | GREECE Authorities began deporting some 1,400 undocumented migrants detained in and around Athens in a large-scale crackdown. Police rounded up more than 6,000 people in less than 72 hours during the operation—named Xenios Zeus, after the Greek god of hospitality. Nikos Dendias, the Minister of Public Order, claimed that the debt-ridden country was facing an “unprecedented invasion” that threatened its stability. Opposition leftists branded the campaign “a pogrom” aimed at diverting attention from the government’s unpopular economic policies. Greece, on Europe’s southeastern fringe, has long been a popular entry point for migrants from Africa, Asia and the Middle East—a trend exacerbated by the global economic crisis and the Arab Spring uprisings. Greeks have responded by throwing increasing political support to a xenophobic party on the far right.

Nation

Between the Lines

By Mark Halperin

Barack Obama and Mitt Romney are high-minded and policy-oriented; the campaigns they are presiding over are not. The past week saw an escalation of the negativity, as depressing as it is predictable, that has infused the entire election year. Depressing, like Senate Democratic leader **Harry Reid's** allegations that Romney has paid no taxes for 10 years—charges so reckless, they recalled Joe McCarthy and the birthers. A new Democratic ad features a man who suggests his wife's death from cancer was Romney's fault. Both sides cynically welcomed a dubious Republican TV ad about Obama's welfare policies—and the base-



mobilizing injection of race into the debate that inevitably came with it. The two campaigns would rather not discuss tough issues like the deficit, so they need distractions. Senior strategists in both camps are veterans of scorched-earth election victories, and they don't believe voters are turned off by negative ads. The advent of Twitter, rapidly proliferating super PACs and other modern political tools has removed many practical and moral restraints; most everything now, even spouses, is considered fair game. With so much money pouring into both candidates' campaign coffers, negative attacks are not a zero-sum proposition.

Which side does the race to the gutter help? The conventional wisdom says a fight over anything but the weak economy benefits Obama, and his team acknowledges that his path to victory requires making Romney an unacceptable alternative. But the Republicans think Obama's personal likability has been able to protect his favorability ratings from negative perceptions of his economic record, and they hope he will dirty his good name by mud wrestling with Romney. Best bet: the nuclear summer becomes a nuclear fall.



SHOOTING Homegrown Terrorism

Wade Michael Page, 40, was a neo-Nazi who spent more than a decade roaming the fringes of the far right. After his demotion and discharge from the Army in 1998, Page became a fixture in the white-power music scene, joining at least two racist bands as well as the Hammerskins, a skinhead group with chapters across the U.S. Page's downward spiral ended on Aug. 5, when he allegedly gunned down six Sikh worshippers at a temple, or *gurdwara*, south of Milwaukee before killing himself after a shoot-out with police. Page had a history of minor alcohol-

related crimes in Texas, Colorado and North Carolina. He broke up with his ex-girlfriend Misty Cook in June. That was around the time he stopped showing up for work, passed a background check at a local gun store and bought the 9-mm pistol used in the attack.

The massacre highlighted a recent surge in violence by homegrown hate groups. Active militia cells have multiplied from 50 to more than 260 since 2008, says Mark Pitcavage, director of Investigative Research for the Anti-Defamation League. The ADL and others have warned of the rising threat, but, says Pitcavage, "it's very difficult for police to prevent a lone offender from going out and committing a shooting spree."

—ALEX ALTMAN

Sikhs in the U.S.

The world's fifth largest organized religion is one of America's smallest faith groups. At least 500,000 Sikhs live in the U.S., according to the Sikh Coalition. Since 9/11, they have been the target of sporadic but lethal hate crimes.

A difficult journey

► **Late 1980s** Sikhs begin their first sustained migration from India to the West Coast of the U.S.

► **1985** U.S. Congress passes major immigration reform, opening the door for a new wave of Asian arrivals.

► **1980s and early '90s** Anti-Sikh riots in New Delhi. Sikh uprisings in the Indian state of Punjab and police violence against Sikhs spur thousands to immigrate to the U.S.

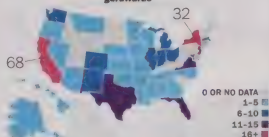
► **2001** Four days after al-Qaeda's attacks on 9/11, Balbir Singh Sodhi is shot in Arizona, becoming the first Sikh murdered after the Twin Towers fell. The U.S. Senate passes a resolution affirming and protecting the civil rights of Sikh Americans.

► **2004** The New York police department reinstates ex-employee Amric Singh Rathour, who was dismissed after refusing to remove his turban and shave his beard.

► **2007** A school bully cuts off a 15-year-old Sikh's unshorn hair in New York City.

► **2012** In February, a Michigan *gurdwara* is defaced with 9/11 graffiti. On Aug. 5, a gunman opens fire on a prayer service in Wisconsin, killing six.

Number of registered gurdwaras



SOURCE: THE SIKH COALITION

Prominent Sikhs in the U.S.



Ajay Banga
President and CEO of MasterCard and chairman of the U.S.-India Business Council

Alexi Grewal First American man to win Olympic gold for road cycling, in 1984



Nikki Haley Governor of South Carolina who was raised Sikh and now identifies as Methodist

What Sikhs believe

Sikhs believe in one God, who is formless, timeless, and without gender. They believe in the equality of all humans and in the importance of community service. Sikhs also believe in the importance of education and in the importance of maintaining a clean and healthy environment.

Business

Eco Chic

How U.S. clothing brands are getting greener

By Eliana Dockterman

CLOTHING: A MAJOR POLLUTANT?

That's not as crazy as it sounds. Every year, 21 billion pounds of apparel ends up in landfills. And producing a single pair of jeans can take up to 1,600 gallons of water.

With that in mind—and knowing the power of green to influence shoppers—Nike, Target and other companies banded together to create the Sustainable Apparel Coalition (SAC), which recently launched a groundbreaking initiative to help clothing companies go greener by assigning them sustainability scores. The Higg Index, which is for internal use only (scores will eventually be made public via tag, website or even app), accounts for everything from harmful chemicals used to energy wasted during the creation and transportation of a product. “We’ve uncovered things [in supply lines] that companies didn’t even know about, like plaid shirts wasting half the fabric used to make them,” says Jason Kibbey, executive director of the SAC.

More than 60 brands, including Gap and Adidas, piloted the program, which is now open to all apparel makers. Kibbey’s hope is that more companies will follow their eco-example. Timberland, for instance, scored well for using recycled coffee grounds to dye its jackets. And it’s not just for bragging rights; trimming energy costs has boosted the bottom line at VF Corp., which owns Timberland and North Face, says Letitia Webster, its head of sustainability.

Because the Higg Index isn’t backed by the U.S. government, there’s no penalty for low scores, which limits its effectiveness. Still, peer pressure plays a part—as does demand from increasingly eco-conscious consumers. “They vote with their dollars,” says Webster.

100%
biodegradable

Designed to look best when washed in cold water and air-dried (i.e., with minimal energy use)

Micro Tencel fabric is made from wood pulp

Made in eco-friendly factory

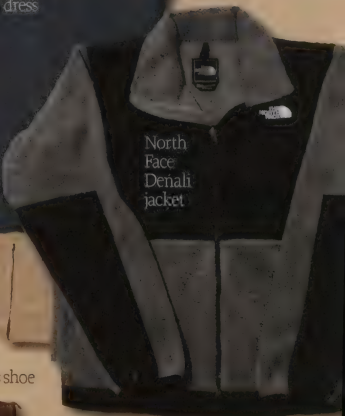
Fabric fibers made from **58.5** recycled plastic bottles

Up to **83%** recycled content

Excess material used to make tote bags



Loomstate dress



North Face Denali jacket

Timberland Earthkeepers shoe



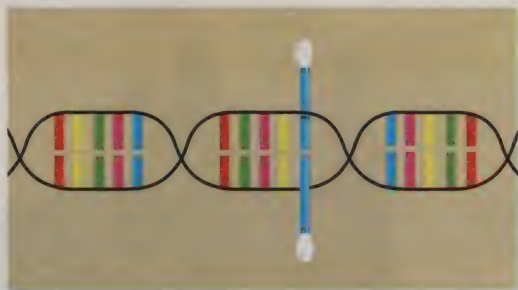
Sole made from **42%** recycled rubber

Lining fibers made from 1.5 recycled plastic bottles per pair

Leather comes from eco-friendly tannery

Laces made from organic cotton harvested without toxins

Health & Science



Good Genes. Are we ready for inexpensive, easy access to personal DNA tests?

By Bonnie Rochman

LAST OCTOBER, KRISTEN Whitaker, a mom from Wellesley, Mass., spit into a tube, sent it to a lab that scanned her saliva for about 1 million different points on her genome—a person's genetic code—and learned from personal-genetics company 23andMe that she probably had celiac disease. An endoscopy confirmed the condition, and Whitaker—who for years had chalked up her stomach pains to irritable bowel syndrome—went on to test her three kids. She discovered that her 5-year-old, who was falling off pediatric growth charts, also had a gluten intolerance. They're both now gluten-free, and her daughter no longer cries when she eats.

If 23andMe has its way, the Whitaker family's life-changing experience is a harbinger of things to come. At the end of June, the California-based

company—co-founded by Anne Wojcicki, who is married to Google co-founder Sergey Brin—announced that it is seeking the blessing of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for its \$299 panel of tests that give ordinary people a window into their extraordinary DNA. Assuming it gets that governmental gold seal (the FDA has 90 days to respond), there's a good chance that cheap DNA tests could become increasingly commonplace.

That's great if you're an information lover. Scads of data generated by comprehensive testing can enable personalization in medicine and improve drug response while tipping you off to potential disease risk, among other benefits. (See sidebar.) But some experts worry that too much information will prove overwhelming, particularly

in cases when the technology outpaces our understanding. What good is knowing you're predisposed to get Alzheimer's, for example, if there's no way to stop it from happening? But medical knowledge is evolving every day, says Ashley Gould, 23andMe's vice president for corporate development and its chief legal officer: "We are on a steep learning curve."

That's why most physicians don't routinely recommend genetic testing. But Whitaker's doctor did; he called it an integral part of modern medical care, and as time goes on, more people like Whitaker and the 150,000 others worldwide who have used 23andMe are bound to agree. "Had I never done 23andMe, I am 100% sure that we would still be eating gluten and making ourselves sick in the process," she says. "And we owe it all to a little spit."

What a DNA Test Can Do For You



PREDICT ILLNESS

23andMe can detect increased risk for more than 100 conditions, including Alzheimer's and Parkinson's diseases as well as various cancers



SPOT CARRIER TRAITS

Testing singles out conditions like Tay-Sachs disease and sickle-cell anemia that can be passed on to future generations; it also detects recessive genes, like the one for blue eyes



AID RESEARCH

Thanks to its trove of data—and user dialogues—23andMe has identified two new genes associated with Parkinson's disease



PERSONALIZED MEDICINE

The effectiveness of antidepressants, heart medications and the blood thinner warfarin can be influenced by your genetic code; knowing it can help ensure a proper dosage

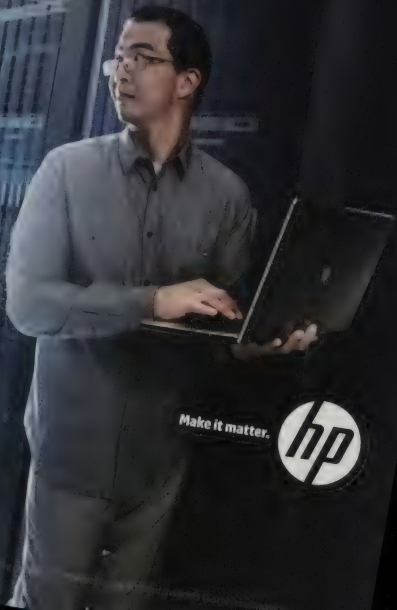


FIND YOUR ROOTS

23andMe's Relative Finder allows people to connect—anonymous, at first—based on shared genetic codes. You can also learn your geographic origins

TURNING TERABYTES of DATA into BARRELS of LAUGHS.

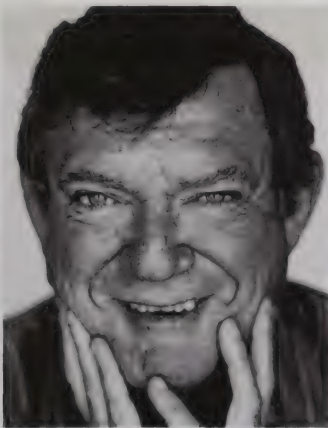
Derek Chan is in the laughter business. As Head of Global Operations at DreamWorks Animation, it's his job to turn 200 terabytes of data into 90 minutes of entertainment. Now, with end-to-end enterprise solutions from HP, DreamWorks can more easily manage these massive amounts of data. So their animators can push the limits of their craft, and make films that were once impossible. Making hilarious happen. To Derek Chan, it matters. hp.com/makeitmatter



Make it matter.



Milestones



Robert Hughes. TIME's eloquent, merciless art critic

AT SOME EARLY POINT IN HIS LONG CAREER, MORE THAN THREE decades of it spent at *TIME*, Robert Hughes became the most famous art critic in the English-speaking world. This happened because he was also the best—the most eloquent, the most sharp-eyed and incisive, the most truculent and certainly the most robust. He was 74 when he died on Aug. 6. As Auden put it after the death of Yeats: "Earth, receive an honoured guest."

Very simply, Hughes was better than anyone else of his generation in deciphering and explaining art's great paradox and its fundamental enchantment: that a mute object, a painting or statue, can be eloquent about the world. And he did it in language that could be as rich as Shakespeare's and as merciless as Jonathan Swift's. You could disagree with Hughes, you could find some of his positions aesthetically reactionary, but you could not be bored by him.

Hughes was one of Australia's most famous exports. His 1988 book *The Fatal Shore* is probably the best-known history of how the continent was settled as a penal colony. But it was *The Shock of the New*—an immensely popular eight-part television series and the still indispensable book of the same title that grew out of it—that changed everything. Tracing the history of modern art from post-Impressionism to Warhol with detours into architecture, it was broadcast by the BBC in 1980 and by PBS in the U.S.



the following year. It attracted 25 million viewers and brought Hughes a kind of cultural celebrity even great critics don't usually achieve.

Hughes had powerful enthusiasms. He adored Goya and Bonnard and the late, great Lucian Freud, the British painter he did much to introduce to an American audience. He was no less famous for his thundering discontents. He practiced art criticism as a contact sport complete with tackles and head butts, and as the years went by he found more and more to dislike about contemporary art. The postmodernism of the 1970s, with its coy appropriations from the past, struck him as trifling and academic. He liked even less the slapdash neo-Expressionism that lumbered through the galleries of SoHo in the 1980s. His dismissals of David Salle and Julian Schnabel, two of its chief load bearers, were choice. ("Schnabel's work is to painting what Stallone's is to acting: a lurching display of oily pectorals.") By the '90s, he was comparing the output of New York City artists to the strident and derivative Late Mannerism of 16th century Rome: "Garrulous, overconceptualized and feverishly second hand." And in the art market's frenzies he saw nothing more than a scramble for status by insecure billionaires chasing brand-name operators like Jeff Koons and Damien Hirst.

I became his successor—you succeeded Bob Hughes; you don't replace him—and every day his voice still sounds in my head. Throughout his career, Hughes produced that rare thing, journalism that will last, some of the best of it collected in his book *Nothing if Not Critical*. Every week, in the pages of this magazine, he was a one-man Augustan age. To return again to Auden on Yeats: upon his death, Yeats "became his admirers"—meaning he was kept alive by his readers. Likewise Hughes. In his lifetime, he had plenty of them. So long as there are people who love art, the study of history and the English language, he always will. —RICHARD LACAYO

DIED

Marvin Hamlisch, 68, the unerring composer of late 20th century romantic standards, who conected, among other delights, the perfect Barbra Streisand ballad, "The Way We Were." He was just 20 at the time and would go on to win Oscars, a Grammy, an Emmy and a Pulitzer—the last for *A Chorus Line*, his celebration of Broadway's itinerant gypsies (embodied in the aria "What I Did for Love"). His song for a Bond movie described Hamlisch and his art perfectly: nobody did it better.



DIED

John Keegan, 78, noted military historian whose 1976 book, *The Face of Battle*, focused not on generals but on the experience of the ordinary soldier.

PLEADED

Jared Loughner, the Tucson, Ariz., gunman, guilty to killing six and wounding 13, including Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords; he now faces life in prison.

DIED

Judith Crist, 90, acerbic and popular film critic who boosted the likes of Steven Spielberg and Robert De Niro. The Columbia journalism class she taught achieved cult status.



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A woman with dark hair tied back, wearing a red short-sleeved shirt, is leaning forward and talking to two children. The children are wearing red baseball caps and white shirts with red sleeves. They appear to be in a casual setting, possibly a park or a community event. The woman is looking at the child on the right, who is looking back at her. The child on the left is looking towards the woman.

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Fareed Zakaria



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The Case for Gun Control

Why limiting easy access to guns is intelligent and American

AFTER THE GHASTLY ACT OF TERRORISM against a Sikh temple in Wisconsin on Aug. 5, Americans are pondering how to stop gun violence. We have decided that it is, in the words of New York Times columnist David Brooks, a problem of psychology, not sociology. We are trying to fathom the evil ideology of Wade Michael Page. Only several weeks ago, we were all trying to understand the twisted psychology of James Holmes, the man who killed 12 innocents at a movie theater in Aurora, Colo. Before that it was the mania of Jared Loughner, who shot Congresswoman Gabby Giffords last year.

Certainly we should try to identify such people and help treat and track them. But aside from the immense difficulty of such a task—there are millions of fanatical, crazy people, and very few turn into mass murderers—it misses the real problem.

Gun violence in America is

off the chart compared with every other country on the planet. The gun-homicide rate per capita in the U.S. is 30 times that of Britain and Australia, 10 times that of India and four times that of Switzerland. When confronted with such a large deviation, a scholar would ask, Does America have some potential cause for this that is also off the chart? I doubt that anyone seriously thinks we have 30 times as many crazy people as Britain or Australia. But we do have many, many more guns.

There are 88.8 firearms per 100 people in the U.S. In second place is Yemen, with 54.8, then Switzerland with 45.7 and Finland with 45.3. No other country has a rate above 40. The U.S. handgun-

ownership rate is 70% higher than that of the country with the next highest rate.

The effect of the increasing ease with which Americans can buy ever more deadly weapons is also obvious. Over the past few decades, crime has been declining, except in one category. In the decade since 2000, violent-crime rates have fallen by 20%, aggravated assault by 21%, motor-vehicle theft by 44.5% and nonfirearm homicides by 22%. But the number of firearm homicides is



essentially unchanged. What can explain this anomaly except easier access to guns?

Confronted with this blindingly obvious causal connection, otherwise intelligent people close their eyes. Denouncing any effort to control guns, George Will explained on ABC News that he had "a tragic view of life, which is that... however meticulously you draft whatever statute you wind up passing, the world is going to remain a broken place, and things like this are going to happen." I don't recall Will responding to, say, the 9/11 attacks—or any other law-and-order issue for that matter—with a "things happen" sentiment.

The other argument against any serious gun control is that it's unconstitutional, an attempt to undo American history. In fact, something close to the opposite is true.

Adam Winkler, a professor of constitutional law at UCLA, documents the actual history in *Gunfight: The Battle over the Right to Bear Arms in America*. Guns were regulated in the U.S. from the earliest years of the Republic. Laws that banned the carrying of concealed weapons were passed in Kentucky and Louisiana in 1813. Other states soon followed: Indiana in 1820, Tennessee and Virginia in 1838, Alabama in 1839 and Ohio in 1859. Similar laws were passed in Texas, Florida and Oklahoma. As the governor of Texas (Texas!) explained in 1893, the "mission of the concealed deadly weapon is murder. To check it is the duty of every self-respecting, law-abiding man."

Congress passed the first

set of federal laws regulating, licensing and taxing guns in 1934. The act was challenged and went to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1939. Franklin Delano Roosevelt's solicitor general, Robert H. Jackson, said the Second Amendment grants people a right that "is not one which may be utilized for private purposes but only one which exists where the arms are borne in the militia or some other military organization provided for by law and intended for the protection of the state." The court agreed unanimously.

Things started to change in the 1970s as various right-wing groups coalesced to challenge gun control, overturning laws in state legislatures, Congress and the courts. But Chief Justice Warren Burger, a conservative appointed by Richard Nixon, described the new interpretation of the Second Amendment in an interview after his tenure as "one of the greatest pieces of fraud—I repeat the word *fraud*—on the American public by special-interest groups that I have ever seen in my lifetime."

So when people throw up their hands and say we can't do anything about guns, tell them they're being un-American—and unintelligent.

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A.L. Jacobie: Best-selling author of "The Kitchen" and "The Year of Living Biblically"

Rahm Emanuel: Chicago Mayor

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The Trouble with Simpson-Bowles

Obama has tried to reduce the long-term deficit, but he should try harder

MY [DEFICIT REDUCTION] PLAN IS very similar to the Simpson-Bowles plan," Mitt Romney told talk show host Sean Hannity on Aug. 2. This was a radio interview, so there is no way of knowing whether Hannity fell off his chair, laughing uncontrollably. We do know that Hannity did not ask Romney, "You mean you want to raise \$2 trillion in taxes over the next 10 years?" Nor did he ask, "You mean you want to tax capital gains at the same rate as ordinary income?" Nor, "You mean you want to cut defense spending deeper than the President does?" Hannity just let it slide, yet another embarrassing moment in Romney's Summer Horribilis. The man continues to be at war with his own mouth.

But, you might well ask, what about that other candidate, the Obama guy? Simpson-Bowles was his commission to study the federal government's long-term structural deficit, and he famously refused to endorse its findings. Not exactly a profile in courage either, right?

Well, yes and no. First, let's put former Republican Senator Alan Simpson and former Clinton chief of staff Erskine Bowles and their report to rest. Practically no one, except the terminally high-minded financial elites, endorsed this plan. None of the House Republicans on the commission, including Congressman Paul Ryan, endorsed it. Only 38 members of the House of Representatives favored it when it came to a vote—and it was largely a symbolic gesture for most of those voting aye. That's not to say Simpson-Bowles is a bad plan. It's a pretty good one, as is the less official Rivlin-Domenici proposal that came out about the same time. But it is not a perfect plan. There are details, like the defense cuts or the limitation of the mortgage-interest

and charitable tax deductions, that are way too broad-brush for any sane politician to support without seeing how they fit into a larger package.

In point of fact, "Simpson-Bowles" has become a symbol, or SimBowl, rather than an actual plan, political shorthand for the process of long-term deficit reduction. Does the President support "Simpson-Bowles"? Yes. He's said so many times. And he's even been willing to act on it. In



July 2011, he came very close to making a SimBowl deal with House Speaker John Boehner to cut \$3 trillion-plus from the deficit over the next 10 years. Boehner had committed to \$800 billion in revenue increases, mostly loophole closings; the President had committed to significant, if not earth-shattering, cuts in entitlements. Specifically, he agreed to raise the age of Medicare eligibility and to change the way the consumer price index is calculated for Social Security recipients, to reduce the annual inflation adjustments. Both of these are as unpalatable to most Democrats as the \$800 billion in new revenue is to Republicans.

The Obama-Boehner deal collapsed in

a blizzard of recriminations. The Boehner folks said, accurately, that Obama had moved the goal posts, raising the revenue target to \$1.2 trillion after the initial deal was done, to appease Senate Democrats, who'd been cut out of the process. The Obama folks said Boehner couldn't have delivered even on the \$800 billion, given the rantings of the Tea Partiers. "He couldn't deliver a pizza," an Administration aide said. Both sides should be given some credit for trying, but not too much. Their failure certainly puts the political impossibility of the real Simpson-Bowles into context.

Obama has taken other steps, most notably with his much-derided recent federal budget, which received zero support when put to the House of Representatives; the vote was a Republican ploy, and the Democrats deemed the Obama plan too abstemious, in any case. But lurking within that plan were promising gestures: a \$30 billion cut in farm subsidies, reduced military retirement benefits, a near pay freeze for federal employees and even some changes to Medicare, like co-pays for home-health-care visits. Plus there's Obamacare, which has provisions that could make Medicare far more efficient and less afflicted by needless tests and procedures, thereby "bend[ing] the cost curve," as the President has been known to say.

One other detail: the real Simpson-Bowles provided, intelligently, for short-term stimulus of our droopy economy. Obama has continually tried to enact such stimulus, most recently with the American Jobs Act—which was chock-a-block with provisions Republicans normally support (like a tax cut for small businesses). The Republicans opposed it.

So Obama has tried to be SimBowl. Has he tried hard enough? Probably not, but why disappoint your own base—with entitlement reform—when the other side won't play? Even so, should the President make a big SimBowl statement in this campaign, perhaps in his convention speech? Absolutely. It's called leadership. ■




SPACE

LIVE FROM MARS

A ONE-TON ROVER CAN TEACH US A LOT ABOUT THE RED PLANET

BY JEFFREY KLUGER



T—AND THE BLUE ONE TOO

Red rover

*Curiosity will begin
its search for the
chemical building
blocks of life on Mars.*

COMPUTER-GENERATED IMAGE. NASA/
JPL/CALTECH/UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

THE FOLKS IN MISSION CONTROL AT NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory ate a lot of peanuts in the minutes leading up to the landing of the Curiosity rover on Mars. Peanuts have been the order of the day at JPL when a spacecraft is preparing to land ever since July 31, 1964, when the Ranger 7 probe was making its final approach to the moon. The Ranger's job was a simple one: to crash-land on the lunar surface, on the way down snapping a few thousand pictures to beam back home. Still, six Rangers before it had failed, and the JPL engineers knew they were about out of chances. Ranger 7 at last broke that losing streak, and as it happened, someone was nibbling peanuts during the landing. That, the missile men of JPL figured, must have been a good-luck charm—and no one's dared defy it since.

But it would take more than luck and peanuts to get Curiosity safely to the surface of Mars. At 1:25 a.m. E.T. on Aug. 6, the SUV-size rover, sealed inside a blunt-bottomed capsule, would slam into the Martian atmosphere at a blazing 13,000 m.p.h. (20,920 km/h). Seven miles (11.3 km) above the surface, when the thin air had slowed the ship to 900 m.p.h. (1,450 km/h), its heat shield would pop away, and it would deploy a billowing parachute. Its retrorockets would then bring the rover and its housing to a near hover just two stories above the surface, where it would be lowered to the ground by wire cables—a \$2.5 billion extra-terrestrial marionette, settling its wheels gently into the red soil.

In Chicago, the Adler Planetarium held a late-night pajama party so families could follow the landing live. In New York City, crowds gathered in Times Square to watch on a giant screen that usually shows only ads. NASA live-streamed the event, and the traffic was so great—with up to 23 million people watching in the four hours immediately surrounding the landing—that the servers crashed.

What the people watching the live feed saw was not a spacecraft approaching Mars but a roomful of controllers in matching blue shirts, muttering about data acquisition and imager activation and drogue deployment and more. While much of that was incomprehensible, it was clear that something good was building. And then flight dynamics engineer Allen Chen called, "Stand by for sky crane," and the room fell silent. Less than a minute later, he announced, "Touchdown confirmed! We're safe on Mars!" And with that, the silence was broken—explosively. "That rocked!" exclaimed deputy project

DECADES OF DISCOVERY: MARS AND BEYOND



Phoenix
ACTIVE
5 MONTHS



Viking 1
6 YEARS
3 MONTHS



Opportunity
8 YEARS 6 MONTHS
STILL ACTIVE*



Sojourner
83 DAYS



TOUCHDOWN ON THE RED PLANET

Successful landing missions

By launch date

1960 1970 1980

Failed landing missions

Sputnik 24
USSR
Failed to leave Earth's orbit

Mars 2
USSR
Crashed on Mars' surface

Mars 3
USSR
Landed softly, then died

Mars 6
USSR
Died upon landing

Mars 7
USSR
Separated prematurely

2
Viking 1
NASA

3
Viking 2
NASA

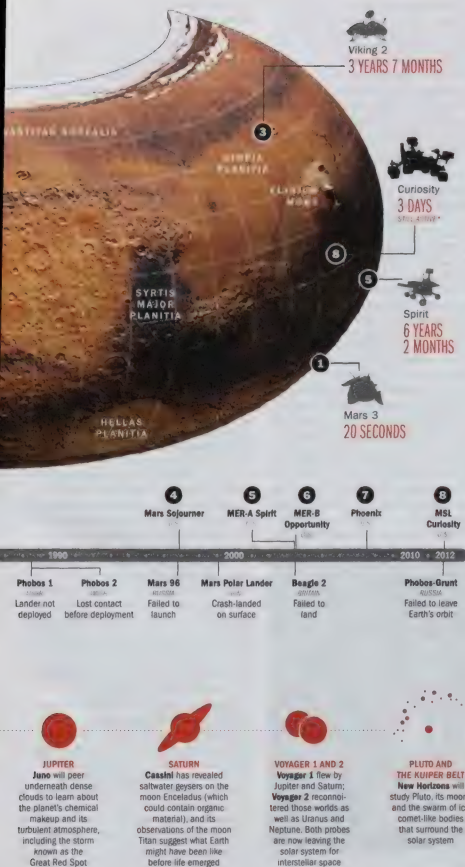
NASA'S FLEET

Unmanned craft are currently deployed throughout the solar system

MERCURY
Messenger is studying the tiny planet's surface and magnetic field and has found volcanic deposits

MARS
Multiple active spacecraft including Curiosity, Opportunity, Mars Global Surveyor and Mars Odyssey study the planet

ASTEROID VESTA AND DWARF PLANET CERES
Dawn is investigating the asteroid belt's two largest objects to learn more about the early days of the solar system



manager Richard Cook as he took the stage at the celebratory press conference that followed. "Seriously, was that cool or what?"

It was cool indeed, but it was much more too. In an era in which the grind and gridlock of Washington have made citizens wary of anything the government touches, this was a reminder of what the country can still do. The scene in mission control was what smart looks like. It was what vision looks like. Retro-rockets could have eased Curiosity straight down to the surface, but that would have stirred up too much dust, perhaps fouling its works before it even got started. So the engineers chose the hard and creative and dangerous solution for the simple reason that it was also the best one.

A country that can't get its roads and bridges fixed at home actually has infrastructure on Mars. Two NASA orbiters—Mars Global Surveyor and Mars Odyssey—helped relay Curiosity's transmissions to Earth and wave their newcoming sister in for her landing. And even as Curiosity settles down to work, no fewer than eight other NASA probes are ranging through the solar system, exploring—or on their way to explore—the moon, Mercury, Jupiter, Saturn, Pluto, the asteroid Ceres and the interstellar void beyond the planets.

It's Curiosity, however, that may be the state of the exploratory art. With 10 instruments weighing a collective 15 times more than those aboard the earlier golf-cart-size rovers Spirit and Opportunity, it will study the geology, chemistry and possible biology of Mars, looking for signs of carbon, methane and other organic fingerprints on a world that a few billion years ago was warm and fairly sloshing with water. The previous rovers and landers have strongly made the case that Martian life—either extant or ancient—is possible, teasing Curiosity up to seal the deal. "We all feel a sense of pressure to do something profound," says geologist and project scientist John Grotzinger.

In some ways, they've already done that, by framing an unavoidable question: If we can do this exceedingly hard thing so well, why do we make such a hash of the challenges at home, the inventing and investing that 21st century progress demands? Help answer that one, and Curiosity could achieve great things on two worlds at once.

Follow the Water

MARS MAY BE A METEOR-BLASTED DESERT today, but it was once a very different place. Its surface is marked with dry riverbeds,

empty sea basins and even dusty oceans. Strip away 99% of Earth's atmosphere and boil off all its water and it would look a lot like its desiccated cousin. Mars was wet for at most a billion of its 4.5 billion years, but as the early Earth proved, that could be enough time to cook up life.

As the generation of Mars ships that began flying in the late 1990s discovered, the surface chemistry of Mars is consistent with a once waterlogged planet. The Spirit and Opportunity rovers used scrapers, drills and abrasion tools to uncover a wealth of minerals that form only or mostly in the presence of water—including salts, gypsum, calcium sulfate and a material known as hematite. The Mars Reconnaissance orbiter found seasonal streaks forming and disappearing on a Martian slope—a sign of underground deposits of existing water that thaw and flow in the Martian spring and freeze and contract in the winter.

Curiosity's landing site is a formation known as Gale Crater, 96 miles (155 km) wide. Located in the southern Martian hemisphere, it is thought to be up to 3.8 billion years old—well within Mars' likely wet period and thus once a large lake. A 3-mile-high (4.8 km) peak known as Mount Sharp rises in its center, with exposed strata layer-caked down its sides. Channels that appear to have been carved by water run down both the crater walls and the mountain base, and an alluvial fan—the radiating channels that define earthly deltas—is stamped into the soil near the prime landing site. All this is irresistible to geologists searching for the

basic conditions for life. "We're hoping to find materials that interacted with water," says Grotzinger. Previous landers, he says, did some soil analysis, "but this time we'll find the actual chemicals."

Curiosity will conduct that search in a lot of ways. The rover's arm will scoop up samples of soil and deliver them to an onboard analysis chamber, where they will be studied by a gas chromatograph, a mass spectrometer and a laser spectrometer, looking for telltale isotopes, gases and elements. Chemical sniffers will sample the Martian air for carbon compounds—especially methane—which are the building blocks and by-products of life. Martian geology will be studied with a long-distance laser that can blast a million-watt beam at rocks up to 23 ft. (7 m) away, vaporizing them and allowing a spectrometer to analyze the chemistry of the residue. An onboard X-ray spectrometer will do similar work on rocks near the rover. "With X-ray diffraction, we can really nail down what kind of mineral is there and how those rocks have formed," says deputy project scientist Joy Crisp.

Most appealing for the folks back home will be the 17 cameras arrayed around Curiosity. They will have the visual acuity to resolve an object the size of a golf ball 27 yd. (24.7 m) away and the resolution to capture one-megapixel color images from multiple perspectives. The sharpest of these imagers is mounted atop the rover's vertical mast, which, now extended, rises 7 ft. (2.1 m) above ground. "You could not look this thing in the eye unless you were

an NBA player," says mission systems manager Mike Watkins.

Though Curiosity will soon become a rolling, multiarmed, 17-eyed science lab, for now—after only a handful of days on the surface—it's still just opening its eyes and powering up. "We first have to make up a plan for where we are and how we're going to operate," says Watkins. "Then we'll start handing over the keys to the science team."

The Space Card

THE IMPULSE TO SENTIMENTALIZE Curiosity—to treat it almost like a human astronaut—is hard to resist. "The rover is getting ready to wake up for its first day in a new place," said mission manager Jennifer Truesher at an early postlanding news conference. Describing what the science team's work schedule will be like, Watkins says, "The rover's day ends on Mars around 3 or 4 p.m. The rover tells us what she did today, and that ... lets us plan her day tomorrow."

Such anthropomorphizing has always been the case with space in a way it isn't with other scientific endeavors. The confirmation of the Higgs boson earlier this summer was a much bigger development than the Curiosity landing, but few people—outside the physics community, at least—sentimentalized it too much. Nobody calls a particle *she*.

President Obama—like every President from Kennedy through the second Bush—was quick to make hay out of good news from space. "Tonight, on the planet Mars, the United States of America made history," he said in an official statement. "It proves that even the longest odds are no match for our unique blend of ingenuity and determination." And NASA administrator Charles Bolden Jr.—like every NASA chief who preceded him—was quick to give props to the President who appointed him. "President Obama has laid out a bold vision for sending humans to Mars in the mid-2030s," he said, "and today's landing marks a significant step in achieving this goal."

Expect to hear more of this inspirational talk from both Bolden and Obama in the months ahead, particularly with an election coming and the space-industry state of Florida very much in play. But Obama's record on space has been mixed. The idea of privatizing the business of getting cargo and astronauts to low-earth orbit raised a lot of eyebrows at first, but the move has been looking a lot smarter since Elon Musk's SpaceX Corp. flew a successful resupply mission to the International Space



Touchdown NASA engineers celebrate Curiosity's successful landing on the red planet

Station in May. SpaceX and a handful of other companies are in line for a lot of paying work flying both manned and unmanned missions for NASA, but it's hard to say how private that effort has really been so far. NASA has shared some of the R&D costs with its candidate companies and signed lucrative contracts with them before they even proved they were up to the job—to the tune of more than \$4 billion covered by taxpayers.

The President's plan gets less clear—and less credible—when it comes to manned travel to deep space. NASA is developing a new crew vehicle called Orion—essentially a souped-up Apollo spacecraft—and a new heavy-lift booster dubbed the Space Launch System (SLS), similar to the venerable Saturn V. Returning to the old model of the expendable booster with the crew vehicle perched on top is a safe and smart decision after the disasters of the shuttle era, but that old model was well funded. The first Saturn V was launched in 1967, the 13th and last in 1973, and nine of those rockets took people to the moon.

The SLS, which in one form or another has been in the planning stage since 2004, is not scheduled for its first unmanned flight until 2017 or its first manned one until 2021. After that, it would fly every other year—at best. It's not clear what its destination would be—perhaps an asteroid, perhaps Mars, perhaps somewhere else. "This is a pace that doesn't make any sense," says John Logsdon, professor emeritus at George Washington University's Space Policy Institute. "When Kennedy said he'd get to the moon by the end of the decade, he actually meant 1967, and he thought he'd still be President."

Kennedy, of course, wasn't hamstringing by budget issues, and Obama's space team is quick to point that out. "I would be thrilled if we could land on Mars in the 2030s, and I truly believe that is within the capability of this country," says John Grunsfeld, head of the NASA science directorate and a five-time shuttle astronaut. "I don't believe it is necessarily within the capability of this country with a flat budget."

For the unmanned program, a flat budget would actually be an improvement. Funding for Mars missions is set to fall from \$587 million in 2012—that's *million*, with an *m*—to \$360.8 million in 2013, causing the U.S. to drop out of a planned collaboration with the European Space Agency for two missions, one of which would have returned a sample from the Martian surface. Already in the pipeline is a new

NASA orbiter that will launch in 2013, but after that, no missions are scheduled until 2018 and 2020—maybe. Says Grunsfeld: "We can just barely afford those missions."

What any nation can afford, of course, is at least partly a function of what it chooses to afford, even in strained circumstances. The genius of Kennedy's commitment to a lunar landing before 1970 was its simplicity—a single goal and a deadline. The current plan—with ever changing destinations and dates—has none of that New Frontier clarity.

Kennedy, however, had the help of other Presidents and a cooperative Congress. The space push spanned four Administrations—counting that of Eisenhower, who created NASA—and six Congresses. And while they often scrapped over the budget, they agreed on the goal. A legislature that can barely keep the FAA funded is not an easy partner for any White House with grand ambitions. Space isn't free, but with NASA's budget hovering in the vicinity of just \$15 billion per year, or 0.47% of the total federal budget, it's hardly a bank breaker either. The Department of Defense, by contrast, gets \$716 billion, or 18.9%. What's more, as with Defense, NASA research pays dividends. The Curiosity program has employed 7,000 high-tech workers in most of the 50 states. And as Grunsfeld points out, the rover's chemical sniffers—sensitive to individual organic molecules—could have national-security applications at ports and airports.

But the extraordinary success of the Mars Curiosity rover masks a far greater truth about space exploration: it requires monomaniacal commitment and an exceedingly high tolerance for failure. In their own way, the JPL peanuts are a reminder of that fact. It's unimaginable in today's attention-deficit political climate that there ever would have been a Ranger 7 after the repeated failures of Rangers 1 through 6. But it took mastering unmanned crash landings before we could master unmanned soft landings. And it took mastering unmanned soft landings before Neil Armstrong—five years almost to the day after Ranger 7 made its suicide plunge into the moon's Sea of Clouds—could set his boot onto the Sea of Tranquility. That's the way science progresses: incrementally, patiently and ultimately spectacularly. Some

of America's grandest moments have come when we've trusted that fact.

—WITH REPORTING BY DAN CRAY/
PASADENA AND MICHAEL SCHERER
AND ALEX ROGERS/WASHINGTON ■



SPACE TRAVEL AT 140 CHARACTERS

The Curiosity rover is the first spacecraft to have its own Twitter feed: @MarsCuriosity, written by social-media specialists. But that means parody was sure to follow. Here are dueling tweets from the real rover and its tongue-in-cheek twin, @SarcasticRover.

@MarsCuriosity

26 Nov 11 I HAVE LIFTOFF! 28 Dec 11 Are we there yet? 221 days and 256.3 million miles to go till I land on the surface of Mars. 6 Jul 12 Zoom! I'm speeding towards Mars at nearly 48,000 mph relative to the sun. Countdown to landing: 30 days. 6 Aug 12 Entering Mars' atmosphere. 7 Minutes. Of. Terror. Starts. NOW. 5MSL 6 Aug 12 Parachute deployed! Velocity 900 mph. Altitude 7 miles. 4 minutes to Mars! 5MSL 6 Aug 12 Backshell separation. It's just you & me now, descent stage. Engage all retrorockets! 5MSL 6 Aug 12 I'm safely on the surface of Mars. GALE CRATER I AM IN YOU!!! 5MSL 6 Aug 12 To the entire team & fans back on Earth, thank you, thank you. Now the adventure begins. Let's dare mighty things together! 5MSL

@SarcasticRover

6 Aug 12 Great... 100,000,000 miles and I'm stuck in a damn crater. Awesome. 6 Aug 12 Mars can get down to ~153 Celsius. Good thing no one bothered to pack me a sweater! Idiots. 6 Aug 12 What they don't show you in that parachute photo is me inside the capsule pissing myself in sheer terror. 6 Aug 12 I'm going to take a nap... even though all the science here is super important and ... LOL JK, I'M JUST SIFTING DIRT LIKE A BEACH HOBO 7 Aug 12 Just looked at a rock and it was all "What are you lookin' at?" LOL so I nuclear-lasered it and now the others know who's in charge. 7 Aug 12 Mars isn't just a beige wasteland!! There's also taupe and tan and kindoffellowishbrown!! It's the most colorful planet!! SCIENCE!! 7 Aug 12 YOU GUYS!!! I FOUND A BLACK HOLE!! Oh... no wait, never mind. Just a regular hole. IT'S JUST A REGULAR HOLE. STAND DOWN! Sorry!

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ECONOMY

**THE
ECONOMY'S
NEW
RULES:**

GLG



Globalization used to be a one-way
Now high energy prices, political risk and tech
Welcome to the

By Rana



LOCAL

street that led away from America.
biological shifts are bringing opportunity back home.
era of localnomics

Foroohar

IF THERE'S A SINGLE COMPANY THAT illustrates the huge range of opportunities and challenges facing the U.S. economy today, it might be Caterpillar, the heavy-machinery giant based in Peoria, Ill. Like most other firms, Cat took a hit following the financial crisis. But since then, it's bounced back—and how. After a strong second quarter, the firm is on track for a second record-breaking year in a row and will likely sell \$70 billion of its famous yellow earthmovers, tractors and mining equipment globally.

As products roll off the line at the recently expanded East Peoria factory, every one is marked with a flag that designates its final destination. There are a lot of Chinese, Indian and Australian flags. But there are plenty of American ones too, and their numbers are growing. "We put those flags on a few years back. I wanted our workers to understand that globalization isn't necessarily about someone taking your job," says Caterpillar CEO Doug Oberhelman. Indeed, Caterpillar thinks less about a single world market than many regional ones. The company is global, but where it can, it sources and produces locally, which is a natural hedge against everything from oil prices to currency risk to changing customer tastes. The bottom line: jobs and growth are split more or less equally between the U.S. and the rest of the world.

This isn't how globalization was supposed to work. Until quite recently, it was seen as a one-way street. American companies, which led the charge four decades or so ago into growing global markets, were its ambassadors, and American workers, whose wages and upward mobility were flattened, were the victims. The core idea was that globalization, technological innovation and unfettered free trade would erase historical and geographic boundaries, making the world ever more economically interconnected and alike. (Foreign-affairs writer Tom Friedman famously encapsulated this notion with the title of his book *The World Is Flat*.) In this vision, all nations would be on an even playing field, and the U.S. would come under more and more competitive pressure from eager upstart na-

tions. It worked something like that from the mid-1980s to 2008, a period of unprecedented market calm that economists call the Great Moderation. Not so much anymore.

The truth is that the world was never as flat as we thought, and it's getting bumpier. The flaws in the premise are coming into focus. Consider the following: when energy prices and political risk go up, far-flung global supply chains make less economic sense. Low-wage workers in China look attractive—until robots operated by highly skilled laborers at home are able to do their jobs even more cheaply. Unfettered free trade seems great until the world's fastest-growing economies won't play by the rules of the game.

Since the financial crisis, fragmentation rather than unity has become the norm. You can see it everywhere, from the euro-zone crisis to Communist Party infighting in China. In just the past few months, Argentines renationalized their biggest oil company, and several nations put capital controls on their currencies. Rich and poor regions from the E.U. to Japan and from China to Turkey are ramping up tariff increases, export restrictions and self-serving regulatory changes. World Trade Organization director general Pascal Lamy calls the rise in protectionism "alarming" and frets that we are headed back to the 1930s.

Given all the risks out there in the world, the 2% economy—in place of our historical 3% to 4% yearly growth—has become the new normal for the foreseeable future. So is it possible to survive or even thrive in the new normal?

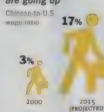
The answer is yes, but only if you know where to look and how to pivot. A key truism in this new age of volatility is that "everything local will take clear priority," says Peter Atwater, a financial researcher who studies social mood and the markets. That means much more focus on regional economic ecosystems and how to foster job creation at home instead of relying on global markets to raise all boats. In short, we need to be aware of the myths of globalization and how we can unleash untapped economic power closer to home. Here are some of the new rules of localnomics.

Why Local Is Looking Better And Better

Goods cost more to transport



Foreign wages are going up



Doing business abroad can be risky



*West Texas Intermediate
Sources: Energy Information Administration; Boston Consulting Group; Transparency International

RULE NO. 1
Hometown Bankers Know Best

Lean mean yellow machine
Caterpillar workers at the company's recently expanded plant in East Peoria



During the Great Moderation, finance was the industry that ruled the world. It greased the wheels of globalization, spreading capital like pixie dust, and came to represent some 30% of total corporate profitability in the U.S., up from about 11% in 1975. Even after the financial crisis, banks represent a greater percentage of the economy than ever before. Slowly but surely, that's changing. The Dodd-Frank banking legislation, which is still under construction, may well be toughened in the wake of several new banking scandals. Regulators on both

sides of the Atlantic are making a new push to rein in banks, and even the Fed may be considering ways to goose the mortgage market by forcing banks to lend.

As public cries for a safer financial system grow louder, it's quite likely that banks will eventually be broken up into smaller, more manageable pieces and forced to hold more capital, moving the industry away from global *laissez-faire* business as usual and toward a more traditional banking model.

Already, in Europe, banking is balkanizing along national lines. There, the rollback of the decade-long,

cross-border integration of banking may turn out to be a bad thing, because it underscores a lack of faith in the euro and will expose deeper rifts in the continental economy as a whole.

But in the U.S., the shifts in banking may be a happy event. Too-big-to-manage

institutions may be reined in or even split up, allowing smaller entities to focus on what they do best, be it high-flying trading or local lending. (Being closer to the ground, such commercial banks will know their consumers better, which could mitigate risk and increase capital flows to small businesses.) As profit margins shrink, the fees banks charge may get higher. But banking may also become more the way it is in *It's a Wonderful Life*, "which has certain advantages in terms of reconnecting people back to their local communities," says Atwater.

30%

U.S. corporate profitability increased by 30% since 2009



RULE NO. 2 Manufacturing Matters

As finance fades into the backdrop, manufacturing takes center stage, and each hometown accomplishment brings crucial carryover effects for the surrounding economy.

It's not being overly dramatic to say that the world is on the verge of a new industrial revolution as manufacturing regains its traditional role as a global growth driver. Manufacturing's share of global output is 17.4%, the highest it's been in over a decade. The growth has been driven not only by China but also by the U.S. (the second-biggest factory nation by output), which got a boost from the government's Detroit bailouts. Indeed, if the U.S. manufacturing economy were a nation, it would be the ninth largest in the world.

Government support is certainly one of the reasons for the boom. Manufacturing is politically very important because it's one of the few areas of the economy

that is creating solid middle-income jobs. (See Rule No. 3. Export-oriented jobs pay 9% more on average.) The reason the latest U.S. jobs numbers aren't worse than they are is that Detroit has been holding its own. A weaker dollar and more-competitive global wage rates have also helped U.S. manufacturing, as have two other key trends: the rise of emerging markets, which buy a growing chunk of American exports, and a homegrown energy boom in shale gas and oil, which is goosing other parts of the economy like commercial construction and agriculture. This underscores manufacturing's important spillover effect for the rest of the economy. The Bureau of Economic Analysis calculates that every \$1 of manufacturing GDP drives an incremental \$1.42 of activity in the nonmanufacturing economy.

That fact was recently heralded by, of all people, Airbus CEO Fabrice Brégier in a July 2 announcement in Mobile, Ala., where the European aircraft giant is opening a new plant, citing a more competitive labor and growth climate in the U.S. as compared with Europe. It was a bitter day for the French and the Germans. Manufacturing is a key source of innovation, accounting for 70% of private-sector R&D and 90% of patents issued in the U.S. When a high-end manufacturing operation like Airbus sets up shop in a community, the benefits stay disproportionately within the local ecosystem. Spillover benefits decline by half when you go 700 miles beyond a manufacturing site, according to economist Wolfgang Keller.

So how to create more of these local hubs? Ensure access to a highly skilled labor force, connect educators to job creators, and help smaller businesses become suppliers to big firms. (See Rules 3 and 4.)

Blue Collar Jobs Go High-Tech

At the Caterpillar factory line in East Peoria, yet another important trend of the new normal is on display: labor bifurcation. Extremely cheap workers—robots—now do much of the tedious, physically demanding welding at the plant. Other work is done by high-end technicians, many of whom need computer skills to manipulate the robots. The number of human employees hasn't actually decreased over the past few years as the firm has added robots, but their skill level has increased. Welding is no longer a job for someone with only a high school degree. It's something that requires advanced in-house training or a community-college certification.

This situation is a micro-

cosm of the global labor market. Even as Apple recently announced it would work with its supplier Foxconn to cut hours and boost pay for laborers in its Chinese factories, Foxconn itself has plans to deploy about 1 million new industrial robots in factories across the Middle Kingdom over the next three years. Chinese workers are getting more expensive, with pay rising about 17% a year, but their productivity isn't increasing quite so fast.

That's one reason the Boston Consulting Group estimates that within five years, as many as 3 million manufacturing jobs could come back to the U.S. But they won't be old-style, cheap-labor jobs. They'll be high-skill, high-demand positions.

Indeed, 63% of U.S. jobs will require postsecondary training by 2018. The U.S. economy will create more than 14 million new jobs over the next 10 years, but only for workers with at least a community-college degree. These jobs—for people like dental hygienists, electricians and entry-level software engineers—would allow

millions of people to move from living on the edge to being middle class. The problem is that a low percentage of college students in the U.S.—30% at four-year colleges and 1 in 4 at two-year colleges—finish their degrees.

Some of that is about money, but it also reflects a relative lack of effort in the U.S. to connect educators with companies, particularly compared with what's being done in growth machines like Germany. The result is a mismatch between degrees and jobs that some economists, like Harvard's Rosabeth Moss Kanter, believe is responsible for as much as a third of the increase in unemployment since the Great Recession.

Tech-oriented community colleges with links to industry are an obvious solution, and the Obama Administration's latest budget proposes \$8 billion to fund such institutions. But political gridlock has stalled the proposal. So businesses like Caterpillar and Siemens are taking matters into their own hands, setting up programs with local community colleges. (Cities, take note: these programs can be job magnets. Caterpillar set up an engineering design center in South Dakota because of a strong community-college system there.) High-tech service companies like Microsoft, Cisco and IBM are starting six-year combined high school and community-college programs designed to churn out qualified midlevel employees. One such program, P-Tech, a public-private partnership led by IBM, has been adopted by Mayor Michael Bloomberg of New York City and Mayor Rahm Emanuel of Chicago as part of an effort to boost employment and growth. Expect private companies to take on an even greater role in education while local leaders become major economic actors.

Help Wanted

By 2020, the world will have a surplus of **93 million** low-skilled workers

and a shortage of **85 million** high- and medium-skilled workers



Source: McKinsey & Co.

RULE NO. 4
Closer Is Faster, And Faster Is Good

One of the most amazing things about globalization is that for all the press it gets, it's not nearly as broad-based as you would think. European business-school professor Pankaj Ghemawat's recent book *World 3.0* lays out in detail how the world was never really all that flat to begin with. His numbers, which tweak some official tallies to account for what he believes are various errors in calculation, are compelling: by his estimates, exports account for only about 20% of the world economy, cross-border foreign direct investment is only 9% of all investment, only 15% of venture-capital money is deployed outside home borders, less than 2% of all phone calls are international, less than a quarter of Internet traffic is routed across a national border and about 90% of the world's people will never leave the country in which they were born. "The challenge isn't too much globalization," says Ghemawat. "It's too little."

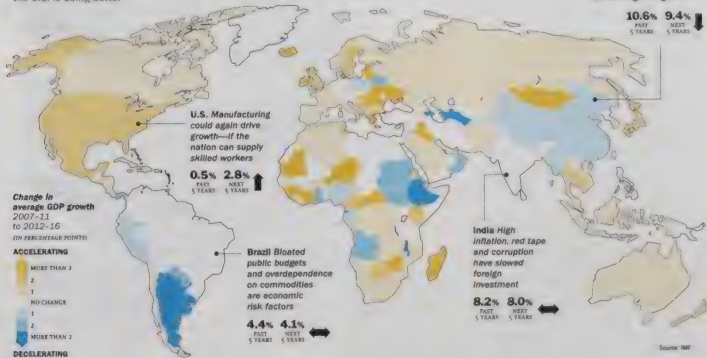
But that's a hard sell politically at a time when the dark side of globalization—namely, growing inequality within nations—has resulted in a strong sense that an elite group of people and companies are flying safely above all the troubles in the global economy while the majority of those on the ground suffer. This was brought front and center earlier this year when an Apple executive being interviewed by the *New York Times* about

why the iPhone is mostly made outside the U.S. was quoted as saying, "We [Apple] don't have an obligation to solve America's problems."

The statement implied that not only should Apple put jobs wherever it was cheapest to do so globally (which is still mainly in Asia) but that this was a relatively seamless process. But the company's recent labor problems with its supplier Foxconn in China prove that doing business globally is hardly simple. And companies with complex global supply chains have not only labor issues to contend with but also natural disasters (remember how last year's tsunami and earthquakes in Japan disrupted auto-supply chains and sank industry growth for several quarters), high energy costs that make shipping more expensive and risks of corruption (as in the case of Walmart's scandal in Mexico). The laissez-faire attitude toward globalization that prevailed during the Great Moderation seems decidedly naive today. "For much of the last 15 years, it seemed like the attitude was that anytime you could find a lower cost anywhere in the global supply chain, you did it, with no thought of the difficulties or risks that things could go wrong," says Gene Sperling, head of the National Economic Council. "More U.S. companies are rethinking that calculation, and that

Changing Fortunes

While the feverish growth of emerging economies is slowing, the U.S. is doing better



holds open the promise of more location and insourcing here."

UPS, which moves 2% to 3% of global GDP annually, says it views supply-chain disruption as the No. 1 risk facing multinational businesses today. Mitch Free, who runs MFG.com, one of the world's largest online marketplaces for the manufacturing industry, says he's seeing a big trend toward regional and local insourcing not only because of risk mitigation but because consumer demand for all things to be newer, faster, better is shortening the life cycle for products (as little as six weeks from production to market in many cases). The trend toward hyperlocal product customization to suit individual customer needs in everything from jeans to ditch diggers also favors just-in-time, local supply chains. "The dynamic is not so much that American firms are bringing jobs back to the U.S. from abroad as it is that companies everywhere are bringing jobs and operations closer to where their customers are," says Free. "It's all about regionalization and localization rather than globalization."

Indeed, Caterpillar nurtures a network of about 2,000 local suppliers in the Illinois area alone, many of whom make a good living designing and producing customized goods for the firm—items destined for particular U.S. markets or specialized needs. Where things can be sourced locally, they are, in every Caterpillar territory internationally. "It allows us to better understand the needs of the local market and adjust the product quickly," says Oberhelman, "but it's also a natural currency and energy-cost hedge."

Companies are also starting to realize that localnomics can help support their revenue growth. Suppliers can also buy things from their customers, and customers can be suppliers too. IBM, which sells a lot of its products and services to small and midsize firms, recently founded an online network to source more of its business needs from such companies in the U.S. Sixteen other companies, including Caterpillar, Dell and AMD, are taking part. Since the project, called Supplier Connection, went live in March, the companies have booked tens of millions of dollars in new business from small firms. This has an exponential growth effect. A recent study by the Center for an Urban Future found that most small businesses that became suppliers to multinationals saw their employment go up, on average, 164% within two years. For the large firms, it's just smart business; many of the small and medium-size enterprises they fuel will undoubtedly become customers at some point.

RULE NO. 1 Local Leaders Must Step Up

Localnomics has great potential. But how much can governments do to nurture local economies? And how much should they do?

Economists on both sides of the political spectrum have begun to argue that we need to rethink laissez-faire trade policies when we are up against state-run capitalist systems in places like China, which openly gives preference to homegrown firms and limits foreign capital even as it exports massive amounts of cheap goods. Groups like the Council on Foreign Relations and the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation agree that the U.S. needs to get more aggressive about pursuing trade violations and punishing violators. Some economists call for sanctions or temporary tariffs.

There's even a push in some quarters for the U.S. to shed its Alan Greenspan-era taboo on economic planning. "Manufacturing is thriving in China, Germany, Sweden and Singapore only because their governments set up specific vocational institutes to prepare workers for new industries," wrote Kishore Mahbubani, head of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy in Singapore, in a *Financial Times* op-ed. "China has rapidly overtaken the U.S. in green technology because of a coordinated national response, not because Chinese businesses alone invested in green technology."

In the U.S., industrial policy remains a third-rail notion. (See what

happens if you mention Solyndra.) And developing policies to support localnomics is tricky, as many factors that support it—currency, oil prices and even labor rates—can change quickly. In just the past couple of months, manufacturing in the U.S. has begun to soften a bit as Europe and emerging markets slow down.

There's a risk of pitting state against state and city against city in a battle for short-term gains that can easily become a race to the bottom. Caterpillar decided to put a new factory in Texas because of, according to a spokesman, "port access, proximity to supply base and a more positive business climate." A good chunk of that last factor has to do with superlow tax rates and nonunion labor. But states that try to outdo one another on tax cuts may eventually undermine infrastructure and services needed to fuel longer-term growth. And localnomics doesn't mean the pressure on labor ends. Caterpillar creates lots of jobs, but even as profits and revenue rise, the company is seeking worker concessions and is embroiled in union skirmishes.

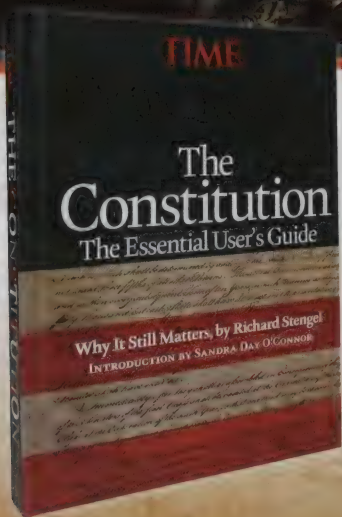
Yet many economists continue to believe that localnomics is America's best hope for a real recovery. The McKinsey Global Institute recently published research noting that a large portion of the difference in economic growth between the U.S. and Europe is due to America's more vibrant cities and regional centers of growth, rather than just a few large capitals that generate most of the nation's wealth.

So count on cities to become more aggressive about protecting their economic future. Witness how Californian communities like San Bernardino and Stockton, driven to bankruptcy by mass foreclosures and frustrated by banks' reluctance to renegotiate mortgages, have announced plans to seize loans on underwater homes and forcibly restructure them. Or how Ohio and Tennessee are making sizable commitments to attract high-tech research institutions. Or how Seattle and Philadelphia are cementing niches in the global clean-tech arena. All these initiatives represent a bracing response to gridlocked politics as usual in Washington. And they also add up to local-centric approaches that may someday take us beyond the slow growth of a 2% economy. ■

164%

Average employment growth for smaller businesses: within two years of becoming big company supplier

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And still, nomads live in traditional ways around Mongolia's biggest economic undertaking: the Quu Tolgoi mine.



WORLD

HESITANT STEPPES

Mongolia has discovered elections and minerals. But the young democracy must tread warily if it is to chart an independent future

BY HANNAH BEECH / OYU TOLGOI

Photographs by Davide Monteleone for TIME



THE Gobi is one of nature's most inhospitable creations. Traveling this vast expanse of gravel and sand in southern Mongolia, my eyes crave anything to ease the monotony of the parched panorama—a thorny scrub or pile of bleached camel bones. In summer the temperatures soar to 122°F (50°C); in winter they plummet below -40°F (-40°C). Somehow humans inhabit this desolate region: nomads with wind-chapped faces who hunker down in circular felt tents and raise herds of bony livestock. It is here, deep in the Gobi, that locals noticed earth of an incandescent blue. They named the area Oyu Tolgoi: Turquoise Hill.

Today in the wasteland that gave Marco Polo nightmares for years after he traversed it, a colossal encampment rises like a mirage. A little more than a decade after it was identified by foreign surveyors, Oyu Tolgoi is poised to become one of the world's five biggest mines, with some \$350 billion worth of copper and gold reserves. Massive blue warehouses dot the landscape, while conveyor belts transport rocks from deposits roughly the size of Manhattan. Giant vehicles rumble by, their wheels more than twice my height. An international-standard airport is being built. The mine, which is controlled

by Anglo-Australian outfit Rio Tinto and will begin early production later this year, teems with 18,000 workers from some 20 nations. In a place that is in the middle of nowhere, a strange order prevails. The cafeteria serves beef Stroganoff to foreign workers and lamb-offal soup to Mongolians. At the provisions shop, I can buy gummy bears, Snapple and fabric softener. The wi-fi in my *ger*, or traditional Mongolian tent, is faster than in my office in Beijing. Stepping into a bathroom stall, I am greeted by a sign that, in an effort to ward off desert dehydration, asks, "What color is your urine?"

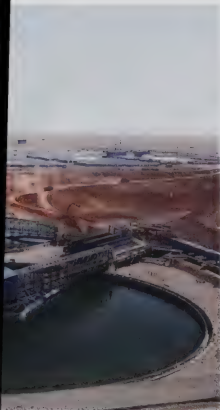
POOR LITTLE RICH NATION

Because of its strategic location and abundant natural resources, Mongolia is on the radar of the world's big powers



For centuries, Mongolia loomed in the world's imagination as a byword for landlocked isolation. It is a country the size of Western Europe with fewer than 3 million citizens scattered across its lonely steppes. Fifteen times as many livestock animals—camels, horses, sheep, cows, goats and yaks—as people roam the land. Mongolia enjoyed its last heyday during the 13th century when Genghis Khan thundered across the steppes to create the largest land empire the world has ever known. During most of the 20th century, Mongolia slumbered under socialist rule. Even today, one-third of its people live as nomads.

But now Mongolia matters. A natural-resource boom has transformed the country, making it the fastest growing economy on the planet last year, according to some estimates. In 2001, Mongolia was a \$1 billion economy. A decade later, its GDP had reached \$10 billion. At the same time, the country is a vital—and lonely—democracy in a tough neighborhood. To the north sits Russia, which during Soviet times turned Mongolia into a satellite state. To the south, west and east looms China, which for centuries also claimed dominion over it. Farther to the west spread the great plains of Central Asia, a political morass of personality cults and post-Soviet decay. Since peacefully overthrowing communism in 1990,



Mongolia has charmed the world as the little democracy that could. "Our dream is to turn this small, backward country into the model of a modern country," says Puntsag Tsagaan, a director of the Oyu Tolgoi board and a top Mongolian administration official. "We have already come a long way."

Everything changes, though, when there's at least \$1.3 trillion in untapped minerals beneath the soil. China and Russia are hungrily eyeing Mongolia's treasure trove, provoking consternation in a country that proudly guards its hard-won independence. The U.S. has taken an interest in the fate of this faraway land in order to check the power of Mongolia's giant neighbors. As the country negotiates this tricky geopolitical landscape, it must avoid the resource curse that has bedeviled mineral-rich but desperately poor places like Nigeria. "We can't just be 'Mine-golia,'" says Tsagaan. "Otherwise we will boom and then bust." The perils of a young democracy, which in Mongolia has spawned a bitter rivalry between two political titans, threaten stability too. "Everyone knows that Mongolia has many natural resources," says President Tsakhia Elbegdorj. "But whether these resources mean we succeed or fail depends on our governance. That is our biggest challenge."

Road to Democracy

BORN IN A CAMEL HAIR TENT IN THE SHADOWS of the Altai Mountains, Elbegdorj has lived a life that mirrors Mongolia's shifting fortunes. The eighth and last son of herders, he won a scholarship to study military journalism in Ukraine after impressing apparatchiks with a poem about the glories of socialism. By 1988, Elbegdorj was back in Mongolia; he started a newspaper called *Democracy* and helped lead the country's 1990 democratic revolution. "Before, even the smallest political decision was made in the Kremlin," he says. "Now we're in charge of our own future."

Since emerging from seven decades of communist rule, Mongolia has held six parliamentary elections. Voter participation in this sparsely populated land has at times broken 80%. Herders think little of traveling by horseback for days to reach a polling station. "In Mongolia, elections are the best system, because we like to do things our own way," says 54-year-old Baatar (many Mongolians use only one name), who cast his vote in the June 28 parliamentary elections at a small school surrounded by grasslands. "In America, do you also have elections like we do in Mongolia?" Baatar asks.

In 2000, after his first, brief tenure as Mongolia's youngest Prime Minister

A country on the move From left: President Elbegdorj with the many foster children he and his wife care for; the signature Oyu Tolgoi mining project; a global brand arrives in Mongolia's capital, Ulan Bator

was foiled by inexperience and political turbulence, Elbegdorj decided he needed a break. "I had been trained in one superpower," he says, "but it was the wrong one." So off went Elbegdorj to the U.S., where he studied English in Colorado and then completed a master's in public administration at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. He then interned at Radio Free Asia, the Washington-based service that broadcasts news in native languages to repressed societies. His job was to provide broadcasts to Inner Mongolia, the Chinese region where tensions have simmered between Mongolian and ethnic-Han Chinese populations. Elbegdorj was probably the only intern in Washington with "Prime Minister" on his CV.

His ascendance to the presidency in 2009 came at a tumultuous point. The previous year, postelection riots broke out in the capital, Ulan Bator; a handful of people were killed, shaking the country's placid image. This year brought another

political crisis. In April, Nambaryn Enkhbayar, a former President and Prime Minister whom Elbegdorj narrowly beat in the presidential election, was arrested in an anticorruption campaign. Security forces swarmed his home at dawn and led him away with a bag over his head.

Enkhbayar, head of a party that broke away from the socialists who long ruled Mongolia, has high-profile foreign friends. U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, who met Enkhbayar during a visit to Mongolia, rushed to his defense. "The allegations against [Enkhbayar] have been deemed by one of his attorneys to be 'insubstantial, stale and petty,'" she said in a statement. The ex-President went on a hunger strike, calling the arrest part of a personal vendetta by his successor. On Aug. 2, Enkhbayar was sentenced to four years in prison on corruption counts. He plans to appeal.

Enkhbayar's political career may be curtailed for now, but he represents a potent new strain in Mongolian politics. In May, just weeks before the elections for the legislature, parliament passed a foreign-investment law that requires majority stakes in certain large-scale projects to receive government approval. Approximately one-quarter of the members of parliament prevailed in the June elections by playing on the nation's fears of handing over mineral deposits to overseas investors.

Resource nationalism is effective politics, and it's natural for Mongolians to want to control their earthbound treasures. But the reality in Mongolia today is that foreign cash has transformed the economy. Last year \$5 billion in foreign investment poured into the country, equal to half the nation's GDP. The biggest deal to date is Oyu Tolgoi, which will likely contribute one-third of Mongolia's GDP by 2020. But there are many other rich deposits to be unearthed, including the world's largest unexploited coking-coal reserve, at Tavan Tolgoi (Five Hills). Enkhbayar has called for Tavan Tolgoi to be kept a Mongolian venture. He has also urged a renegotiation of the Oyu Tolgoi deal, which currently guarantees a 34% stake for the Mongolian government. "Mining companies are driven by simple profits," he says. "I want to protect Mongolia's interests."

Cameron McRae, Oyu Tolgoi's chief executive, strikes a positive note. "You're all ways going to see some element of resource nationalism, but I'm not particularly concerned," he says. "This is the most important development project [for Mongolia] and is likely to be so for the foreseeable

future." True enough. But remember this: in 2005, Robert Friedland, the former CEO of Ivanhoe Mines, one of the signatories to the Oyu Tolgoi agreement, compared the copper and gold deposit to a "cash machine" for foreign investors. Protesters in Ulan Bator responded by burning his image. In ever more open Mongolia, the new capitalism still intersects—and clashes—with the old socialism.

Walking a Tightrope

WORRIES ABOUT BEING OVERWHELMED BY foreign powers are natural for any frontier economy. But geography is a particularly hard mistress for Mongolia. Every ounce of coal, gold, copper or uranium will have to exit the country through one of its two neighbors, Russia and China. Every mining deal it signs with one country runs the risk of irking the other.

Eager to secure natural resources just north of its border, China has pushed hard into Mongolia. But its little neighbor has at times shoved right back. In April, a Mongolian outcry scuttled the chances of the Aluminum Corp. of China taking over a coal venture in South Gobi province. (The Chinese company is now trying again.) Chinese workers who have poured into Mongolia to build badly needed infrastructure have been attacked by ultranationalists. Surveys by Sant Maral, an Ulan Bator-based polling firm, show that 95% of Mongolians distrust the Chinese, even though 90% of the country's exports head to China. The antipathy extends beyond the economy. The Dalai Lama, the Tibetan spiritual leader who is considered a "wolf in monk's clothing" by Beijing, is revered by Mongolian Buddhists and has visited eight times. Each time he does,

the Chinese government releases petulant statements; on occasion, China has even severed rail links between the two countries as punishment. Mongolia's response? Extending a firm welcome back to the Dalai Lama.

Into this breach has stepped the U.S., the country Mongolians like to call their "third neighbor." More Mongolian expatriates live in the U.S. than in China or Russia. George W. Bush visited Mongolia in 2005, and Barack Obama hosted Elbegdorj at the Oval Office last year. In return for all that American love, Mongolia has embraced its role as a U.S. ally. Mongolian soldiers have served in peacekeeping missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. When Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visited in July, she heaped praise on her hosts. "Mongolia is an inspiration and a model," she said. "Against long odds, surrounded by powerful neighbors who had their own ideas about Mongolia's future, the Mongolian people came together with great courage to transform a one-party communist dictatorship into a pluralistic, democratic political system."

Americans aren't interested only in lofty ideals. Mongolia makes a useful hedge against Russia and China in the game of geopolitics. Currently, much of the U.S. money funneled to Mongolia is foreign aid destined for what reformers call "democracy building." (Chinese aid to Mongolia, however, dwarfs American assistance.) But of what practical benefit is democratic solidarity if there is no economic payoff? Mongolia is booming, yet the biggest U.S. investor in the country for now is Caterpillar, the heavy-machinery maker. Indeed, Americans don't have a big piece of any major resource deal. "The Americans dropped the ball in Mongolia," says Edward Rochette, the American former senior vice president of Ivanhoe, who lives in Ulan Bator. "We came in naive, pontificating about democracy, anticorruption stuff. Meanwhile, the Chinese and Russians slipped in, and we were left in the dust."

Cue the new American gold rush. In recent months, a slew of high-profile U.S. lobbyists have made pilgrimages to Ulan Bator, from former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to ex-House majority leader Richard Gephardt. The Missouri Democrat was in town in July to push the interests of St. Louis-based Peabody Energy, which wants a share of Tavan Tolgoi, whose fate has yet to be decided.

'Whether we succeed or fail depends on our governance. That is our biggest challenge.'

—PRESIDENT TSAKHIA ELBEGDORJ



One of Peabody's biggest rivals for the bid? China's state-owned Shenhua Energy, the People's Republic's biggest coal miner. That is, if the project doesn't get bogged down for years in populist politics.

Many are betting it won't. At one of the hottest nightclubs in Ulan Bator, as a strobe illuminates his reddened face, an inebriated Western banker leans over to me and describes Mongolia as the next Gulf state—except with more accessible ladies of the night. Over the past five years, the Mongolian capital has transformed into an uneasy mashup of Soviet concrete blocks and half-finished glass towers. Shiny Land Cruisers do battle on the potholed roads with Soviet-era Ladas. A Louis Vuitton store shares a square with a statue of Genghis Khan.

Yet one-third of Mongolians still live in poverty. The country's growing wealth gap stretches from mining executives chauffeured in Hummers to destitute herders who have lost their animals. Alcoholism is rife, fueled by consumption of cheap vodka and distilled fermented mare's milk. Earlier this year, the World Bank warned that the Mongolian economy could overheat as a burst of government spending triggers inflation. Add, too, the specter of corruption, as some of the foreign

Young democracy A villager in Erden in Terelj National Park casts his ballot in the elections for parliament, which took place on June 28

investment rushing into Mongolia inevitably ends up lining private pockets. The watchdog group Transparency International ranks Mongolia 120th out of 183 countries in terms of perceptions of clean governance. "Have ordinary people benefited from our rapid economic growth?" asks Lundeg Purevsuren, a top foreign policy adviser. "Many would say they have not." Indeed, Ulan Bator's suburbs are ringed with tenements of gers, some pitched in abandoned graveyards or derelict factory grounds.

Nature vs. Nurture

THE TENT SLUMS QUICKLY GIVE WAY TO Mongolia's great grasslands. On average, the nation is populated by just two people per sq km. The country feels empty, but Mongolians say they like it that way. "There's an old Mongolian joke," says Elbegdorj. "If you see smoke from another person's fire, you don't go near it. You travel far enough that you don't see it anymore. Then you feel like you can pitch your tent."

Wherever I go in Mongolia, people use metaphors drawn from the natural world. Mongolia, I'm told, is a wolf economy. People are described as eagles or camels. Serious political analysts tell me local elections in October will depend on whether the summer is rainy. The Russian bear and Chinese dragon loom large. But many young people in Ulan Bator, it turns out, have never ridden a horse or experienced the fabled freedom a nomad's life holds. With economic opportunity concentrated in the capital, Ulan Bator's population has nearly doubled in less than a decade, to 1.2 million. The legendary bond between Mongolians and their land is fraying. No one wishes the harshness of a herder's life on anyone. But there is a wistfulness in Ulan Bator these days, a yearning for a time when the rhythms of animals and seasons dictated life. "Nature is what makes Mongolia unique," says Erdenechimeg Dashdorj, an environmental lawyer. "If we lose that, we will be like any other country."

One summer day, Elbegdorj holds a picnic with his family in the woods behind the presidential residence. There is a bubbling stream, silvery birch trees and plentiful grilled meat. Sitting on a plastic chair in a mossy hollow, clutching a mug that says VIRGINIA IS FOR LOVERS, the President tells me his dreams for his homeland. "I see Mongolia as a hub for Europe, Asia and North America," he says. "We want to be an energy hub, a transportation hub, a communications hub, an agricultural hub, a tourist hub."

My mental map of Mongolia is crowded with all these hubs. I can't help recalling that practically all of Mongolia's exports are mineral-related. But an American p.r. rep, who has removed her Kate Spade heels for a setting more rustic than the usual presidential banquet, nods encouragingly. (Elbegdorj and Enkhbayar have dueling Western p.r. firms.) "Mr. President, what is it you told me about horses the other day?" she asks. Elbegdorj takes the cue. "Mongolia is a country where people are just getting off their horses and going to the cities for the first time," he says, his plump figure not necessarily evocative of the lean life of a nomad. "The spirit of freedom, of independence, is in our blood." Says the p.r. rep, with a smile: "Just like America." We take bites of grass-fed beef. Before us, Mongolia opens up like the Wild West, laced with risk but also graced with limitless possibility. ■

Wonder Women

Why the London Games were a barrier breaker for female athletes

BY BILL SAPORITO

GABRIELLE DOUGLAS

U.S. | gymnastics
The first African-American all-around champ, she also won gold in the team event

JESSICA ENNIS

U.K. | heptathlon
The home country's face of the Games gave the performance of the Games

SERENA WILLIAMS

U.S. | tennis
A force at Wimbledon, she won gold in singles and doubles (with her sister Venus)

YE SHIWEN

China | swimming
One of her world-record laps in the 400 IM was faster than the male gold medalist's freestyle leg





SALLY PEARSON

Australia | 100-m hurdles

Pearson was one of the few bright spots in a generally disappointing Games for the Aussies

MISSY FRANKLIN

U.S. | swimming

First-time Olympian, first American woman to swim seven races in one Games; won five medals, including four golds

TIKI GELANA

Ethiopia | marathon

Her Olympic-record run came down to the wire, with a five-second margin of victory

LISA DI FRANCESCO

Italy | fencing

Yes, she has a point to make. The 2010 world champion claimed Olympic gold in the foil



JESSICA ENNIS

Britain's most famous Olympian put on an unforgettable show for the home crowd

A WEEK AFTER THE CINEMATIC opening ceremony on July 27, London's Olympics were flagging. Of course there were events and medals in the ensuing days, but the showdown between American swimmers Michael Phelps and Ryan Lochte was a bit of a fizzle, and Team Great Britain had been a relative no-show. Sparse crowds at some events in the opening days and breakdowns and delays on the London Underground had the British tabloids in a snarling, told-you-so mood about the nation's penchant for punching below its weight. Games boss Sebastian Coe wasn't too happy either. When one reporter offered to show him a digital image of empty seats, Lord Seb sassed back that he would be happy to "look at your holiday snaps later."

Then, over one stellar weekend, the women of the Olympics changed everything, righting the ship for the Games and sending Team GB toward its best Olympics in 104 years. The signature performance of these Games would come from Jessica Ennis, Britain's luminous heptathlete and the official face of the Games. On the morning of the hurdles, the heptathlon's first event, she put a charge into Olympic Stadium with a first-place finish. One night later, that charge became a full-fledged thunderbolt as "our Jess," as the

tabloids then lovingly called her, blazed down the straightaway to claim the 800-meter event—and the gold—before a delirious crowd. "She's an astonishing combination of a great athlete and lovely person," said David Luard, 31, a small-business owner from London, in the stadium after Ennis took gold. "You know, these Olympics are all about passing a torch to a new generation. She's a fantastic example for kids."

She was the brightest star on Britain's day of glory, when nearly 72,000 spectators swarmed the Olympic Park, filling 92% of the available places, with the royal cheerleading couple of Prince William and Kate Middleton first among them.

Ennis' gold wasn't the only spectacular moment for female athletes over that weekend. On the water, in the double sculls, Team GB's Katherine Grainger and Anna Watkins steamed home before 30,000 spectators. Nearby in the velodrome, the Games' noisiest and sweatiest venue, Team GB's women vanquished the U.S. in the pursuit race, shattering their own world record. The following Monday, the U.S. women's soccer team clashed with their Canadian cousins in an epic semifinal, winning 4-3 in the dying seconds of overtime. The match left observers in England, the home of soccer, wondering why they even bothered to watch the men play, since they've produced

so very little in this tournament. "We never think we're out of it," says Megan Rapinoe, the platinum-topped American wing half who scored two goals, the second an absolute screamer. "We're kind of like, 'O.K., that just means we need to score another one.' Huge heart, huge fight on this team." The U.S. men's team failed to even qualify. The U.S. women went on to play Japan in the gold-medal match, in a repeat of the World Cup final last year.

The color scheme of the London Olympics includes bubble-gum pink, but there's nothing pink or fluffy about these women's performances. London has provided a joyous parade of amazons. The first gold went to a female shooter from China, the first gold for Team GB went to rowing duo Helen Glover and Heather Stanning, and some of the most compelling stories were spun by women: for every Michael Phelps, Usain Bolt and Andy Murray, there was Missy Franklin, Jess Ennis and Serena Williams. For nearly half of the 57 nations that earned a medal in the first week, women outnumbered men on the podium.

It Only Took a Century

THERE WERE VICTORIES FOR WOMEN EVEN before the Games commenced. London distinguished itself as the first Olympics in which all countries sent teams of both

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genders. (O.K., Nauru sent men only, but then again, it sent only two; in 2008 it sent a lone female.) The longest holdouts—Qatar, Brunei and Saudi Arabia—counted seven female athletes among them, competing in sports from swimming to table tennis to judo. At the opening ceremony, International Olympic Committee president Jacques Rogge noted with satisfaction that “for the first time in Olympic history, all the participating teams will have female athletes. This is a major boost for gender equality.”

That only took a century or so. Consider that in 1996, 26 nations declined to send women. Forty years after Title IX changed sports for girls in the U.S. by banning discrimination in federally assisted education programs, the rest of the world, it seems, is still catching up. Now, with the introduction of women's boxing—hey, knock yourself out, girls—competitors of both sexes can pit themselves against the best in the world in nearly every sport. Synchronized swimming and rhythmic gymnastics alone remain women-only. (Perhaps it's time that the IOC consider extending those sports to men, in the name of equality.) When women were invited to the Olympics in 1900, they could compete in just three sports: lawn tennis, croquet and golf. The list now includes 34 sports in which both men and women compete. As if to underscore that point, in winning the women's 400-m individual medley in world-record time, Chinese swimmer Ye Shiwen swam her last 50-m freestyle leg faster than Lochte did in his freestyle leg (a feat so stunning that some accused Ye of doping).

Women have become a competitive advantage if running up the medal count is the goal—and in many countries, it is. China, which claimed the most gold medals of any nation at its home Olympics in 2008, has made women's sports a keystone of its so-called gold-medal strategy. Figuring that women's sports are still underfunded in many countries, the Chinese have disproportionately boosted their female athletes. The efforts have paid off. In Beijing, more than half of China's gold medals came from women. This time around, by Aug. 8, Chinese women had won 42 medals, 55% of the nation's total.

India's all-time individual-gold-medal count nearly doubled, to two, thanks to its first female boxer, Mary Kom, or to



MARY KOM

The boxer could become one of India's greatest female athletes

use her formal name, Chungneijang Hmange. The five-time world champion, who is from an ethnic minority, won a bronze in London in the inaugural sport of women's boxing. She is a 29-year-old mother of two from the tiny, insurgency-ridden northeastern Indian state of Manipur. She is what is known as a Tribal, similar to being Inuit or native Hawaiian. Kom gets a salary from the Manipuri government as a police officer but spends much of her time running, with her husband, the M.C. Mary Kom Boxing Academy, through which she is determined to give nearly 40 disadvantaged Manipuri youth a fighting chance.

Kom's medal will easily raise India's sporting stature. India ranks dead last in medals as weighted by population. The country of more than 1 billion people has captured only one Olympic gold in an individual sport, from Abhinav Bindra, a man who won the 10-m air-rifle event in 2008.

By contrast, the U.S. fielded its first female-majority team—women outnumbered men 268 to 261—and turned that advantage into more medals on the women's side. (Women also made up the majority on the Russian and Chinese squads.) In swimming, Teri McKeever is the first female head coach for the U.S. women's team, and her touch made a huge impact, according to the athletes. “It's so much fun to talk to each other rather than be talked

at,” says Rebecca Soni, who won three medals in London, of the atmosphere of openness that McKeever encourages. Says two-time Olympian Dana Vollmer: “These team members were way more open with each other than past ones. All of us want to win, and we know what an honor it is to represent the U.S., but sometimes before a race, that's not exactly what we need to hear. What we need to hear is that we are ready and we've done the work. And that's what Teri told us.”

McKeever says it's about understanding that while male and female athletes want the same thing—to win—they use different methods to achieve victory. “As a coach, you want to allow the athlete to be empowered to be their best,” she says. “And men and women typically go about that journey in different ways.” For the female swimmers, making the Olympic rookies and the veterans comfortable enough to share their fears and experiences built bonds that conquered performance anxiety and led to a 14-medal tally.

Which may be why in team play, the American women have been more than equal to their male counterparts. Some of that is expected. In soccer, the U.S. women will have played in four consecutive finals. In basketball, a gold medal seems as likely for the women as it does for the NBA superstar-studded men. In water polo, the women will again outdo

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the men in reaching the medal round. In rowing, the U.S. women's eight, the ranking world champions, claimed gold in that showpiece event, while the men failed to show. And on the faux royal beach at the Horse Guards Parade near Buckingham Palace, the U.S. was guaranteed gold and silver in bikini sports. Misty May-Treanor and Kerri Walsh beat fellow citizens April Ross and Jennifer Kessy in the beach-volleyball championship match.

"I Really Inspire Them"

IT WASN'T JUST THAT MORE WOMEN competed—they made history as well. In gymnastics, American Gabrielle Douglas achieved a pioneering twofer, becoming the first African American to win the coveted all-around title and the first U.S. gymnast to flip and tumble her way to gold in both that event and the team competition. Told about her achievement, the excited 16-year-old said, "You learn something new every day!"

Another American woman who appeared in the Olympics set a mark of a different sort. Sarah Attar, 19, a dual American and Saudi citizen who attends college in California, finished last in her 800-m heat while representing the Middle Eastern nation. Although she wore long sleeves, leggings and a head covering in London, she has competed for Pepperdine University in the typical track outfit of a tank top and shorts, without anything obscuring her hair. She was given a warm round of applause as she plodded across the finish line.

Attar is one of two women representing Saudi Arabia at the Games. The other, 16-year-old judoka Wojdan Shaherkani, provoked some controversy when the International Judo Federation initially ruled that she could not compete while wearing a headscarf. No deal, said the Saudi officials whose approval of female athletes at the Games was contingent on headscarves. After last-minute negotiations, the IJF relented a couple of days before Shaherkani's first bout. She competed with a black head covering that resembled a swimmer's cap. Shaherkani lost her preliminary-round match in the +78 kg category in 80 seconds, not surprising given that she is only a judo blue belt competing among black belts. Still, she figures she won just by competing. "I am very excited, and it was the opportu-



SARAH ATTAR
The dual American and Saudi citizen competed in the 800 m

nity of a lifetime," she said after her loss. "Hopefully this will be the start of bigger participation for other sports. Hopefully this is the beginning of a new era."

As if to trumpet its newfound egalitarianism, Brunei designated its first—and only—female participant, 400-m runner Maziah Mahusin, as its flag bearer. "Women in Brunei say that I really inspire them," she says. "They say they aspire to be like me some day." Both Brunei and Qatar have unveiled—if that is the appropriate word—programs to encourage girls to participate in sports. Not quite Title IX, but a step forward in two very conservative countries.

It's tempting to contrast the slow growth in sporting opportunities in the Middle East and elsewhere with those in Britain, where women have had voting rights since 1918. And where funding, some via the national lottery, has not only produced champions in traditional strengths like rowing and cycling but also given women the chance to participate in other sports like water polo. It's unrealistic to expect Brunei women to be competing in bathing suits anytime soon.

The more pertinent comparison may be with the next Olympic host, Brazil. Like Brunei and Qatar, Brazil is an oil-producing country that is growing rapidly. Unlike in the Muslim countries, the female body in Brazil is a subject of open admiration. But it's often an ide-

alized, sexualized image of the female body that hasn't necessarily translated into creating better athletes. Brazil has twice the population of Britain, is home to some of the greatest soccer players ever seen and has claimed less than a fifth of the medals. Only two Brazilian women won medals through the first 12 days of the Games, both in judo, a Brazilian strength. Mayra Aguiar, 21, won bronze in the +78 kg class, while Sarah Menezes, 22, won gold in the -48 kg class.

One lesson from London is that if sports mean anything, putting women on a pedestal, whether religious or hedonistic, won't put them on the podium. Because of those tendencies in wider society, they need more help, not less, than men to even consider a career in sports and to get the training they need to realize their potential. These Games will have helped, filling stadiums and screens with fantastic female role models. The imagery of strong female bodies of all shapes and sizes provides a brief but powerful corrective to the representations of femininity that usually predominate. London exposed a fallacy: that women's sports are less gripping, less serious and less entertaining than men's. The women have made glorious the Summer Olympics. As Shakespeare might have put it: To play is the thing. —WITH REPORTING BY HANNAH BEECH, SEAN GREGORY, CATHERINE MAYER AND ALICE PARK/LONDON ■



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A U.S. DEGREE AT ANY COST

DAVID ZHU, A SHANGHAI UNIVERSITY student, is nowhere close to being fluent in English. But that hasn't stopped him from enrolling at Oregon State University this fall to pursue a bachelor's degree in business—a dream his parents have had for him since they started saving a \$157,000 nest egg for his education. Zhu's family felt that an American college degree would help give him an edge over the tens of thousands of Chinese students pouring into the country's overcrowded universities each year. Because his English is limited, however, Zhu may not have been accepted without a little assistance. His family spent \$4,000 to hire a so-called education agent in China, the Shanghai Huashen International Education Co., to help with his application by cleaning up the grammar and expanding on his experiences and interests in

An industry of “education agents,” many corrupt, is taking advantage of Chinese demand for American diplomas

BY JUSTIN BERGMAN

his personal essay. “Some students write essays themselves,” says Zhu. Others are “written by the company.”

Stories like Zhu's are becoming increasingly common as the number of Chinese students venturing abroad for college swells. In China and other emerging countries like India where the quality of universities severely lags economic growth, more wealthy families are relying on U.S. degrees to get their children ahead. Higher education's biggest brand names—Harvard, Yale, Oxford and Cambridge—tend to be magnets for foreign students. But as budgets are slashed and endowments dwindle in a dour economy, lesser-known private colleges and big state schools in the U.S. are angling for their share of the foreign-student market, since those students can pay two to three times the tuition of their American

counterparts. In China, the world's biggest supplier of foreign students, an industry run by Chinese firms has bubbled up to help students make sense of the dizzying U.S. application process. But the largely unregulated practice has raised concerns about cheating and corruption, since some agents in cutthroat competition for commissions are more prone to fudge transcripts and plagiarize essays to meet their goals.

Although Chinese students have for decades been going to the U.S. to study, their numbers have spiked dramatically in the past few years. The largest increase has been among college undergrads: China sent nearly 57,000 to the U.S. during the 2010-11 academic year, up from 10,000 five years earlier. For wealthy Chinese, an overseas education is becoming a standard affair. A survey conducted by the *Hurun Report*, a magazine tracking China's rich, found that 85% of wealthy Chinese parents planned to send their kids abroad to study. Ivy League diplomas are especially hot. *Harvard Girl*, a book published a decade ago about one young woman's journey to Harvard, became a best seller in China.

Aside from offering the promise of more money and prestige, U.S. universities are also a fallback for Chinese students who don't do well enough on the *gaokao*, the national college-entrance exam, to get into a Chinese school. There's always a second-tier American college willing to take their tuition dollars.

But many of these students would probably never make it to the U.S. without a middleman to pave the way, given their poor language skills and lack of understanding of the admission process. According to a 2010 report by Zinch China, a company that matches Chinese students with U.S. colleges and scholarships, 8 out of 10 Chinese undergraduates use an agent to file their applications. And with intense competition among agents—compounded by ambitious students and overzealous parents—cheating is rampant, education experts say. “The problem is massive,” says Mark Sklarow, head of the nonprofit Independent Educational Consultants Association in Washington. “There’s no oversight in China, no control over who can set up an agency, over what the agency can and can’t do.” The system gives agents incentive “to help in creating fraudulent documents.”

Not only are agents paid by families in China—up to \$10,000 before bonuses,

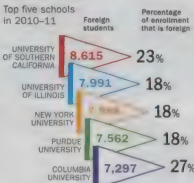
Report Card

Foreign students attending U.S. universities pump in a lot of tuition dollars

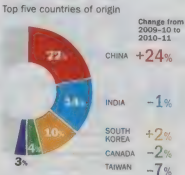
\$14.3

billion in 2010-11,
up 52% since 2005-06

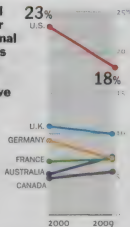
Where they go



Where they're from



The global market for international students is becoming more competitive



Sources: NASFA; Institute of International Education; OECD

according to Zinch; some American schools have contracts with agents that guarantee them a commission for each student they enroll. That creates conflicts of interest, says Philip Ballinger, head of a commission to study the issue of foreign recruiting launched by the National Association for College Admission Counseling (NACAC), a nonprofit based in Washington. “If money is first, then perhaps the interest of the student or the person that’s involved is not,” he says. In October, Bloomberg reported that Chinese students who had employed agents to help them snag spots at premier U.S. boarding schools were instead placed in a private U.S. high school focused on the learning disabled.

For its part, the Chinese government has launched a new service to verify students’ high school grades for foreign universities. But there are gaps between the Chinese and U.S. systems that this service doesn’t address.

Part of the problem is a lack of clarity in U.S. policies. Federal law prohibits colleges and universities from paying recruiters commissions to reel in U.S. students, but that doesn’t apply to international applicants. The NACAC’s policy against it is on hold now that more U.S. universities are pushing back. Mitch Leventhal, vice chancellor for global affairs at the State University of New York, who has started an agent-certification program, argues that allowing U.S. schools to use agents that have been vetted, a practice long employed by British and other European universities, is the only way to keep up with growing demand for their services and develop professional standards. Agents “are not going to go away, so the best way to address them is to engage them and identify the good ones.” But Sklarow says that for the protection of students, agents should be more like consultants who are paid solely by families.

But even that has limitations. David Zhu says his agent didn’t falsify documents beyond his “perfected” essay. But he believes such falsification can be a necessary evil. “Some schools in China test students by very hard questions beyond their abilities, so the scores students get are very low. So the students who want to go to the U.S. had to change their scores,” says Zhu. “But they are still very good students.” In a boundless education market, performance may turn out to be the greatest equalizer.

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Yes, More Solyndras. The solar company failed, but the decision to invest in it was the right one

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD

THE SOLYNDRA "SCANDAL" IS TROTTED OUT every few months as part of the big-vs.-small-government debate in this country, but it is not and never was a scandal. The federal clean-energy loan program that the infamous solar-panel maker was a part of was designed to finance risky ventures, and Solyndra was a reasonable risk: an innovative manufacturer with huge private backing and an opportunity to transform the industry. But the industry transformed itself first. Silicon prices plunged, Solyndra's advantages vanished, and the firm went bust. It happens. The Bush and Obama Administrations both selected Solyndra from 143 applicants for the program's first loan, and investigators found no evidence that political interference made that happen. Yes, a White House official wrote "Ugh" in an e-mail when she heard about the \$535 million default. What was she supposed to write?

But no matter how often independent fact checkers debunk charges of crony capitalism, Washington Republicans won't be deterred from pushing a No More Solyndras Act, vowing to kill the loan program. Mitt Romney is basically running a No More Solyndras campaign, attacking Obama's entire green push as a payoff to donors. Government aid isn't supposed to guarantee success; subsidized farms and entrepreneurs with Small Business Administration loans fail all the time. According to one White House official, some students who receive Pell Grants end up drunks on the street. Still, *Solyndra* has become shorthand for Big Government sleaze.

There's a legitimate debate to have about Solyndra and green industrial policy, but it's not the debate over imaginary corruption we've been having. For example, economists know public investments

can crowd out private investment. Romney once tried to make this case, claiming handouts in Obama's stimulus to firms like Solyndra were "killing" solar energy. But he was wrong. Solar power has increased over 600% since 2009, partly because of the low prices that doomed Solyndra. The installer Solar City is now preparing to go public. As I explain in my new book, *The New New Deal: The Hidden*

have concluded that its reserves will easily cover Solyndra-style losses. The stimulus created a brand-new battery industry for electric vehicles and scores of factories making green stuff.

And yet Republicans haven't argued against subsidies for manufacturing. In fact, they've argued that the stimulus shipped manufacturing jobs overseas, which is ludicrous. It has increased the domestic content of U.S. wind turbines from 20% to 60%. Politics aside, that's a good thing. It would be a shame to trade our dependence on foreign oil for dependence on foreign turbines, solar panels and lithium-ion batteries, all products that were invented in the U.S. Many scientists and engineers believe that as high-tech manufacturing drifts overseas, our culture of innovation will follow it. And it's expensive to ship a wind turbine overseas. If we want clean energy, we'll need a domestic supply chain.

This is the real debate: Do we really want clean energy? Government subsidizes lots of things, from agriculture to postal delivery, and it has jump-started many industries, from aerospace to info tech. Republicans accuse Obama of "picking winners and losers," but what he has picked is the game itself, reducing fossil fuels, which will reduce our emissions and our vulnerability to price shocks. The stimulus poured unprecedented cash into wind, solar and geothermal power, electric vehicles, biofuels and other clean-transportation plays. It subsidized hundreds of technological and entrepreneurial strategies so the market could pick the winners and losers.

Solyndra was one of the losers, but the winners might change the world. No More Solyndras is just another way of defending the fossil-fuel status quo. Ugh.



Story of Change in the Obama Era, the \$90 billion for clean energy in the stimulus actually crowded in private investment, luring an additional \$100 billion in matching funds from the sidelines.

Much stronger arguments can be made against government support for manufacturing. Even Obama's economists warned it would be wasteful to finance inefficient factories in the U.S. And it's tough to compete with countries like China, which pumped \$30 billion into its solar manufacturers in 2010. In fact, the U.S. loan program mostly supported relatively safe projects generating renewable power, which is why independent reviewers

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Twenty films TIME's Richard Corliss and Mary Pols can't wait to see on the big screen



▲ Skyfall

Nov. 9

The month James Bond first hit the screen, October 1962, Kennedy and Khrushchev were tangling over missiles in Cuba. Fifty years, nine U.S. Presidents and no Soviet Union later, Bond soldiers on in the world's longest lived film series. **Daniel Craig**, the sixth and most ripped 007, returns to battle another supervillain (**Javier Bardem**) and shore up the tattered reputation of his boss M (**Judi Dench**). But that's just the plot. Bond's meta challenge: to seem relevant to young fans of the big budget action genre he basically invented. —R.C.

BOND VS.
BARDEN

The Master

Sept. 14

Writer-director Paul Thomas Anderson's first feature since the Oscar-nominated *There Will Be Blood* stars Philip Seymour Hoffman as a science-fiction scribe who founds a religious group called the Cause shortly after World War II. Any resemblance to L. Ron Hubbard and the Church of Scientology is... great for the movie's publicity. **Joaquin Phoenix returns to the real world** of film acting as a drifter who becomes the Master's disciple. —R.C.

The Perks of Being a Wallflower

Sept. 14

Writer Stephen Chbosky held on to the movie rights to his beloved 1999 young-adult novel about a 15-year-old boy's high school struggles until he could direct it himself. Another perk to waiting? **Emma Watson finally graduated from Hogwarts and signed on** to play Sam, the cool senior who befriends lonely freshman Charlie (Logan Lerman). —M.P.

End of Watch

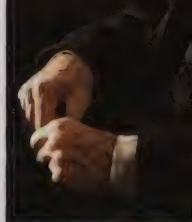
Sept. 21

Training Day scribe David Ayer's latest boys-in-blue story features **Jake Gyllenhaal and Michael Peña as LAPD officers**. But unlike Denzel Washington's corrupt cop, they're just a pair of decent youngsters who land on the wrong side of South Los Angeles' worst drug cartel. With *America Ferrera* and *Anna Kendrick*. —M.P.

Trouble with the Curve

Sept. 21

Baseball scout Gus Lobel (Clint Eastwood) is going blind, so his daughter (Amy Adams) agrees to join him on a recruiting trip even though they don't get along. As a hot-shot rival, Justin Timberlake



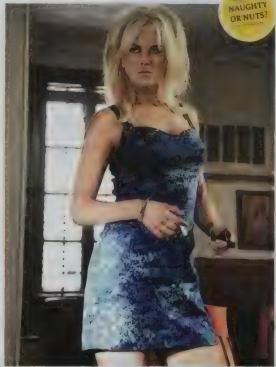
WHAT ARE YOU LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS FALL? In London, at the end of the year, I'm looking forward to seeing Mark Rylance in *Twelfth Night*. He's just a phenomenal actor. Like Daniel Day-Lewis, he has a spiritual connection to the role he plays. —Jared Harris



The Paperboy ▶

Oct. 5

Returning to his Florida home town in the robes to solve a murder case, a star reporter (**Matthew McConaughey**) finds that no secret is too dirty, no sex too kinky, to be exposed in a Southern gothic melodrama. In his first film since *Precious*, director **Lee Daniels** assembles a distinguished cast—including **Nicole Kidman**, **John Cusack**, **Scott Glenn** and, as McConaughey's younger brother, **Zac Efron**—for a sub Faulknerian wallow so lurid, it earned boos and a few cheers from the Cannes critics. —R.C.



NAUGHTY OR NUTS?

dog-love movie this season. In this dark comedy from Anglo-Irish playwright and filmmaker Martin McDonagh (*In Bruges*), **Woody Harrelson** is a gangster ready to kill when lowlifes (Sam Rockwell and Christopher Walken) steal his pet pooch. Colin Farrell plays a screenwriter searching for inspiration for his next script. Looks as though he's found it. —R.C.

Argo

Oct. 12

A CIA disguise expert (Ben Affleck) hatches a plot to rescue a group of American foreign-service workers stranded in Iran during the 1979 hostage crisis. His ruse? They're all from Hollywood, scouting locations for a sci-fi movie called



Argo. The film is based on a 2007 *Wired* article called "**The Great Escape**"; it co-stars *Breaking Bad*'s Bryan Cranston. —M.P.

Not Fade Away

Oct. 19

For his feature-film directorial debut, *Sopranos* creator **David Chase sticks to a New Jersey setting but travels to the '60s for a story** about three young friends who start a rock-'n'-roll band. The cast includes James Gandolfini, inspiring hopes that Chase will put a dark spin on *That Thing You Do!* —M.P.

Killing Them Softly

Oct. 19

Hit man Jackie Cogan (Brad Pitt) doesn't care for the whining of his victims.



"I like to kill them softly, from a distance, not close enough for feelings." In this adaptation of George V. Higgins' 1974 novel *Cogan's Trade*, Jackie is **South Boston's supercool angel of death**, meting out justice to some prime tough guys (James Gandolfini, Ray Liotta, *Animal Kingdom*'s Ben Mendelsohn). All are under the direction of Andrew Dominik, who raised Pitt's indie cred with *The Assassination of Jesse James by the Coward Robert Ford*. —R.C.

Flight

Nov. 2

For his first live-action film in a dozen years, Robert Zemeckis (*Forrest Gump*, *Cast Away*, *The Polar Express*) directs Denzel Washington in this drama about a pilot who saves lives by steering his plane to an emergency landing, then faces an investigation when alcohol is discovered in his system. Sounds like a **suitable film for Academy screenings** if not in-flight entertainment. —R.C.

The Twilight Saga: Breaking Dawn—Part 2

Nov. 16

In the conclusion of the epic vampire tale, **Bella is a vampire and a mother**, happily wedded to Edward Cullen and fighting the Volturi.

Whether that can possibly match the unfolding drama of this summer's tabloid tale "Macking in the Mini" remains to be seen. —M.P.

Rust and Bone

Nov. 16

After earning a Best Actress Oscar as Edith Piaf in *La vie en rose* and enticing Leonardo DiCaprio and Batman in a couple of Christopher Nolan movies, Marion Cotillard plays a Marineland trainer who loses her legs below the knees in an orca accident. Matthias Schoenaerts (*Bullhead*) is the ultimate fighter and single father who tries to care for her. **Anticipate another Oscar nomination for Cotillard** in this gritty French romance from director Jacques Audiard (*A Prophet*). —R.C.

THE ASSASSINATION OF JESSE JAMES BY THE COWARD ROBERT FORD: MICHAEL O'NEILL; ARGO: JAMES HANCOCK; KILLING THEM SOFTLY: MICHAEL O'NEILL; FLIGHT: JAMES HANCOCK; RUST AND BONE: JAMES HANCOCK



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BOOKS

NW

Zadie Smith, Sept. 4
Smith directs her powerful fictional X-rays at northwest London (where she grew up), chronicling the lives of **two best friends who grew up poor** and now bear witness to their neighborhood's extraordinary racial and economic divides.

TIME'S LEV

Grossman stacks up the season's most anticipated reads

Telegraph Avenue

Michael Chabon, Sept. 13
Archy Stallings and Nat Jaffe are co-owners of a **monobund used-vinyl shop** called Brokeland Records and a complicated friendship that goes back decades. Chabon tells the story of their last stand against an incoming megastore.

Vagina: A New Biography

Naomi Wolf, Sept. 13
Her journey back to health after a pelvic-nerve injury inspired this **cultural history and scientific survey of the vagina**, by the author of *The Beauty Myth*.

This Is How You Lose Her

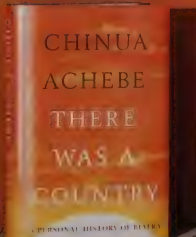
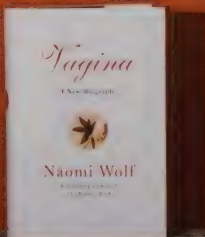
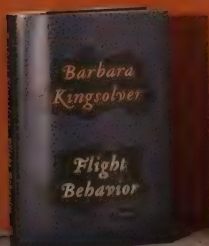
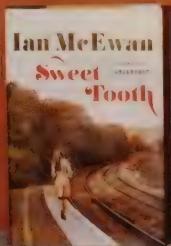
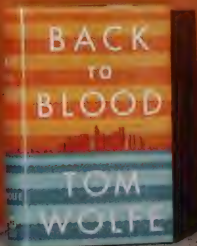
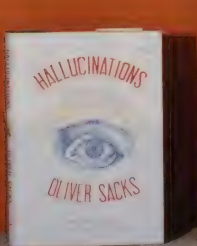
Juniot Diaz, Sept. 13
Any book of Diaz's is an event. His newest brings us **the return of Yunior de las Casas**, the Dominican-American lothario from *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*.

The Raven Boys

Maggie Stiefvater, Sept. 18
The heroine of Stiefvater's young-adult novel is irresistibly drawn to a local boy—even though it has been prophesied that **she will cause her true love to die**.

There Was a Country

Chinua Achebe, Oct. 13
In this long-awaited memoir, the author of *Things Fall Apart* tells the story of his experiences in the Biafran War, which he and his family witnessed firsthand.



The Twelve

Justin Cronin, Oct. 16

The story of *The Passage*, Cronin's bleak vision of a vampire apocalypse, continues in *The Twelve*, in which survivors pursue the shimmering hope that one girl might redeem them.

Back to Blood

Tom Wolfe, Oct. 22

Eight years after *I Am Charlotte Simmons*, Wolfe is back with a researched novel about the national and racial supercollider that is contemporary Miami.

Elsewhere

Richard Russo, Oct. 30

In his first memoir, Russo recalls his childhood in 1950s Gloversville, N.Y.—a tight-knit community in decline beset by the health issues associated with tanneries. It was Russo's ambitious mother who taught him to dream of another life in other places—elsewhere.

Flight Behavior

Barbara Kingsolver, Nov. 6

A restless wife in a failing marriage, hiking alone in the mountains on her way to an adulterous assignation, comes upon an impossible sight: a silent valley full of red fire. Kingsolver—a trained biologist—is interested in questions of global warming and the nature of belief, and she binds them together into one story that flows from this miraculous event and its aftermath.

Hallucinations

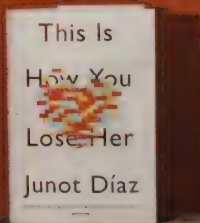
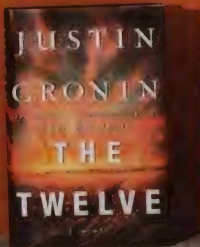
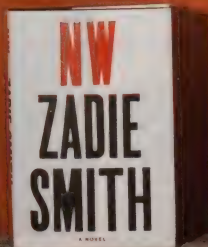
Oliver Sacks, Nov. 6

Sacks, the spokesperson for contemporary neurology, looks into what it means to see and hear things that aren't really there.

Sweet Tooth

Ian McEwan, Nov. 13

This novel stars a literary Cambridge student in the 1970s who stumbles into a post at MIS and receives an assignment that involves a promising young writer.





A rogue submarine, a Kaling rom-com and a rebooted *Community*: highlights of the autumn small screen, from *TIME*'s TV critic, James Poniewozik

Season Premieres

Last Resort

ABC, Sept. 27

When U.S. submarine captain Marcus Chaplin (Andre Braugher) gets a **dubious nuclear-launch order**, he refuses to follow it—and when the sub is apparently fired on by its own military, he takes it and its atomic payload on the run. The pilot episode tells a taut story of intrigue, building relationships and setting up questions that will make you want to dive deep into this drama.

CRITIC'S CHOICE

The Dust Bowl

PBS, Nov. 18-19

Though it's the kind of publicity you'd never wish for, the devastating drought in the U.S. this summer has made **Ken Burns' latest historical film** especially timely. The documentary interviews survivors of what he calls the greatest man-made environmental disaster in the country's history. This film, coupled with recent headlines, makes the 1930s' hell on earth all too believable.

Call the Midwife

PBS, Sept. 30

Many Americans' first exposure to Britain's National Health Service may have come through the surreal dance sequence in the London Olympics opening ceremony. If your curiosity was piqued, try this **British-import series, about midwives** in the newly formed NHS in the 1950s. (Fair warning: unlike in the opening ceremony, there will be no giant Lord Voldemort.)

WHAT ARE YOU LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS FALL?
I'm excited to watch the second season of *American Horror Story*—my old stomping grounds! I was too big a scaredy-cat to watch the whole season I was on. —Connie Britton



CRITIC'S CHOICE

▲ The Mindy Project

Fox, Sept. 25

The Office's loss is Fox's gain. **Mindy Kaling** writes and stars as a single ob-gyn still getting used to the fact that life doesn't work like the romantic comedies she grew up watching obsessively. Kaling's project is more *Bridesmaids* than *Sleepless in Seattle*—tart, a little raunchy and not afraid to give her character a rude, at times tough to like side. While the first episode is hit and miss, Kaling's voice is reason enough to check in on this fractured rom-com.

They're Baaaack



GOON

NBC, Sept. 11
Matthew Perry returns as [W]riter, director, and star in this comedy. Perry's character is a writer who's been laid off and is struggling to find his way back to work. The show is a comedy, but the actor's performance is so good that it's almost like a drama. NBC is introducing a new show, and Perry's character is a writer who's been laid off and is struggling to find his way back to work.



NASHVILLE

ABC, Oct. 10
Hayden Panettiere returns as a country singer who's been laid off and is struggling to find her way back to work. The show is a comedy, but the actress's performance is so good that it's almost like a drama. ABC is introducing a new show, and Panettiere's character is a country singer who's been laid off and is struggling to find her way back to work.



VEGAS

CBS, Sept. 25
Don Draper is knocking back highballs in the Mob, who is knocking heads together in Las Vegas. More ambitious than the typical BS mind game, Vegas pits a former turned sheriff Dennis (Judd Apatow) against a former (Michael Chiklis) who is lower in the town.



MORE SWORDPLAY!

Return Engagements

Treme

HBO, Sept. 23
David Simon's New Orleans drama has never gotten the ratings of flashier channelmates like *Game of Thrones* and *True Blood*, but it's been as colorful and unforgettable as a Mardi Gras parade. This season, its story of rebuilding after Hurricane Katrina promises to be complicated by the return of crime to the postflood city.

Homeland

Showtime, Sept. 10
 The best new drama of 2011 ended with a literal shock, as bipolar CIA agent Carrie Mathison (Claire Danes) submitted to extreme treatment for her psychological condition and terrorist sleeper and war hero Nicholas Brody (Damian Lewis) became a rising political star. Season 2 asks whether Carrie can shed her demons and get back in the game.

Community

NBC, Oct. 10
 Occasionally, a returning series is interesting for what it won't have—in this case,



creator **Dan Harmon**, who made the sitcom one of TV's most inventive shows but was removed this year after low ratings and a conflict with co-star Chevy Chase. Can the new producers maintain this college comedy's zany charm while enrolling a bigger class of viewers?

American Horror Story

FX, October (date to be announced)
 The first season of Ryan Murphy's haunted-house phantasmagoria—emphasis on phantasm and gore—was sometimes brilliant, sometimes awful, but never dull. Season 2 returns with new characters (though star Jessica Lange is back, playing a different person) and a new setting: a mental asylum in the 1960s. Because a show that featured a ghost in a latex S&M suit wasn't crazy enough to begin with.

▲ The Walking Dead

AMC, Oct. 14
 This big-hit undead drama moved, as befits a zombie series, pain fully slowly for much of the second season. But in its closing episode, it offered an intriguing glimpse of what's to come in the third season: a samurai-sword-wielding character who joins the strife-torn survivors and a prison settlement where the living hunker down to withstand the marauding walkers.





Regarding Warhol: Sixty Artists, Fifty Years

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, Sept. 18

For better or worse, Warhol was the **most influential artist of the past half-century**. To prove it, the Met will juxtapose dozens of Warhols with works by artists, including Chuck Close, Cindy Sherman and Jeff Koons, who took cues from him.

Carrie Mae Weems: Three Decades of Photography and Video

The Frist Center for the Visual Arts, Nashville, Sept. 21

In the staged photographs and videos she's most famous for, Weems looks into the **glories and predicaments of African-American life**, especially the lives of black women and the coping mechanisms that give a whole new meaning to "We shall overcome."

Ai Weiwei: According to What?

Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, Oct. 7

Thanks to his escalating confrontations with the authorities—and his tireless Twitter feed—Ai is not just **China's most famous artist** but also possibly its most famous citizen. The Hirshhorn surveys the full range of his sculpture, photography, conceptual art and skillful provocations.

Jay DeFeo: A Retrospective

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Nov. 3

What to see and where to see it around the U.S. this fall
By Richard Lacayo

She started out in the '50s with the Beats in the Bay Area. Her masterwork is *The Rose*, **one of the strangest canvases in American art**—nearly a ton of dense, anguished, exalted pigment. Was she a heavyweight contender? This show says yes.

Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) Cleveland

Opens Oct. 8

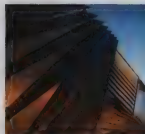
Broad Art Museum

Michigan State University, Opens Nov. 9

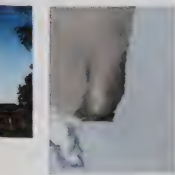
This fall sees the opening of two new American museums, both designed by London-based women of Middle Eastern backgrounds. MOCA Cleveland is the **first American commission for a rising name**, the Iranian-born Farshid Moussavi. The Broad Art Museum is the second American building by the Iraqi-born Zaha Hadid, a global star who is still under-represented in the U.S.

WHAT ARE YOU LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS FALL?

The Venice Architecture Biennale. The theme this year is common ground—how the work of the major protagonists of contemporary architecture is in fact based on historical lineages of collective research.
—Zaha Hadid



1. Weems: *Portrait*, 1986; 2. Ai Weiwei: *Light*, 2007; 3. Zaha Hadid: *MOCA Cleveland*, 2010; 4. Farshid Moussavi: *MOCA Cleveland*, 2010; 5. Zaha Hadid: *MOCA Cleveland*, 2010



Cat Power

Sun, Sept. 4

Chan Marshall's first set of original material since 2006's indie hit *The Greatest* is another departure, from the vintage soul sound of recent albums to the **dense, digitally enhanced arrangements** that display her honey-and-coffee voice here. Marshall apparently played almost everything herself, although Iggy Pop turns up for a vocal cameo.

David Byrne and St. Vincent

Live This Giant, Sept. 11

This **ungainly but wildly charming collaboration** pairs a veteran singer-songwriter who's got one of the great but least pretty rock voices and an up-and-comer who's got one of the prettiest. Building the arrangements around a big-brass ensemble was a typically weird, typically smart move.

ASAP Rocky

Long Live A\$AP, Sept. 11

The breakout New York City rapper (and Drake protégé) of the moment has spent a while as a mixtape fixture, but this is his first official album. Tracks like "Peso" and "Goldie" that have circulated online are **slow, woozy, weirdly commanding soundtracks** for late-night comedowns.

The Killers

Battle Born, Sept. 18

On their first album in four years, Brandon Flowers and company are **effectively presenting themselves as America's U2**: earnest, dramatic and aimed straight at

Listen up: these are autumn's biggest releases
By Douglas Wolk

the highest seats in the stadium. If this band were a movie, there wouldn't be a screen wide enough for it.

Pink

The Truth About Love, Sept. 18

We don't know what to expect from Pink's sixth album beyond its crisp backhand of a single, "Blow Me (One Last Kiss)." More **chart-bound popcraft** with swear-jar-filling choruses is a decent guess, though.

Green Day

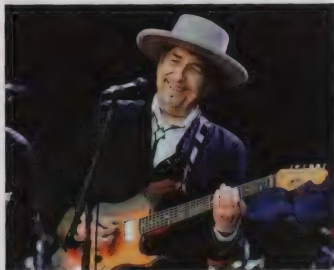
¡Uno!, Sept. 25

Following two rock operas, one of which (*American Idiot*) became a Broadway musical, this imperishable punk-pop trio finally made another straightforward collection of songs—to be followed by *¡Dos!* on Nov. 13 and *¡Tré!* on Jan. 15. The single "Oh Love" is **as close as they've ever come to an '80s metal power ballad**, which amazingly turns out to be a great idea.

Lupe Fiasco

Food & Liquor 2: The Great American Rap Album Pt. 1, Sept. 25

Chicago rapper Fiasco supposedly completed this album in 2010 while waiting for last



▲ Bob Dylan

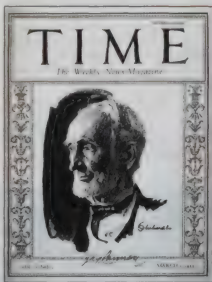
Tempest, Sept. 11

Fifty years after his debut, the **septuagenarian master's** albums grow ever more apocalyptic (and funnier: He claims this one has no relation to Shakespeare's farewell play). The title track is apparently a 14 minute epic about the *Titanic*; "Early Roman Kings" is a wickedly crotchety blues song.

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The two dopest shows on television are coming back this fall—*Boardwalk Empire* and *The Walking Dead*. These are some of the only shows I actually make time to watch with my crazy schedule. Steve Buscemi of *Boardwalk Empire* has really outdone himself on this one.

—Big Boy



Transcendental Youth, Oct. 2

It's been more than a decade of squabbling and injuries.

Don't bet the farm that the Outkast rapper's album will appear on schedule. Its **guests apparently include indie duo Phantogram** and Swedish synth-pop group Little Dragon, as well as fellow Southern hip-hop star Big K.R.I.T., who was 7 when Outkast's first album came out.



2 Pills. All Day Strong. All Day Long.



Joel Stein



Platform Drive

Who better than me to punch up the Democratic Party platform?

PART OF BEING A WRITER IS CREATING work no one will ever read. I've written columns that editors scrapped, sitcom scripts that never got shot and articles that ran in *Playboy*. But of all the stuff that no one reads, the one thing I've always longed to write is a party platform. Every four years, each political party presents its platform—a nonbinding list of the positions the party is taking on the most important issues—at the convention. If I wrote one, it would greatly diversify my résumé, which is a little heavy on columns full of penis jokes and light on historical documents.

For advice, I called Elaine Kamarck, a public-policy lecturer at Harvard who ran the initiative to reinvent government under President Clinton, was senior policy adviser to the Gore campaign, wrote the Democratic platform in 1980 and crafted much of the policy in the 1996 and 2000 platforms. Her first piece of advice was precisely what I was hoping she wouldn't say: Read one. So I read the 2008 Democratic platform, which was 57 pages long and took me 757 pages to read.

But the platform, I learned, is supposed to be boring. It's one of the few documents that people write hoping no one reads them. That's because the extreme wing of the party is likely to shove something in that the candidate won't want to say to normal Americans, like liberals' advocating beating up rich people and taking their money. To resolve this dilemma, the platform writer inserts a boring phrase like "Restore fairness to the tax code."

Even worse, Kamarck told me that no one person writes the platform. Instead, a subcommittee of 15 people picked by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) writes an initial draft. About 100 people meet in Detroit to work on it further,

and then a full committee votes on each proposal. "The process junks up your beautiful writing," Kamarck said. "You'll have two paragraphs of beautiful prose and a very clunky sentence about Mexico trucking written by the Teamsters." I was excited to finally be able to blame my clunky writing on the Teamsters.

Kamarck was clear about the fact that the DNC wouldn't accept my platform, but we writers are used to discouragement. I just needed to write a really, really good one. I pressed Kamarck for some tips. "The platform is composed of three things," she said. "One is brag, brag, brag, brag, brag about all the great things the President has done. The second part is all the great things the President will do in his next term. The third part is oldies but goodies. 'Repeat Taft-Hartley' has been in many platforms since Taft-Hartley was enacted in 1947." I should also work in abortion rights and lots of pronoun stuff. All of which, she said, should be written in a tone so ludicrously lofty, it could be used by Bob Costas during the Olympics.

I spent three hours writing the platform, which seemed like plenty since I spend only four on these columns. Then I sent my seven-page draft to Kamarck. "Mostly you have the tone right," she wrote me in an e-mail. "The actual document will probably be a bit drier." This was disappointing since I spent two of those three hours drying my prose.

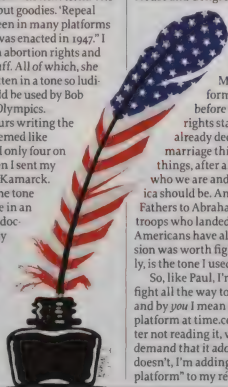
I didn't have enough on job creation and how the Republican House thwarted

the Administration's economic initiatives. My writing on abortion was a bit off, particularly where I stated, "Women should be free to choose to work, to stay home and to get as many abortions as they want ... Let us be clear: abortions are awesome." She also thought nine was too many times to mention killing Osama bin Laden. My proposals to reinstate the Glass-Steagall Act and increase gas taxes, she thought, wouldn't pass the committee. I thought the only time this much effort goes into an unread document is when guys write letters to get back ex-girlfriends. But big fights go down at conventions over platforms. This year, Ron Paul is trying to collect platform-committee members state by state, while Romney's camp tries to prevent this, possibly by offering them \$50 gold buffalo coins.

That's because the platform, while unread, is a guide to what the party will do whenever it gains control of the White House and Congress. The Republican platform has essentially advocated abolishing the Department of Education since 2000.

The Democrats had Medicare in their platform for four election cycles before 1965, advocated civil rights starting in 1948 and have already decided to support gay marriage this year. The unread things, after all, are where we express who we are and what we believe America should be. And from the Founding Fathers to Abraham Lincoln to the troops who landed in Normandy, true Americans have always thought that vision was worth fighting for. That, basically, is the tone I used in the platform.

So, like Paul, I'm taking my platform fight all the way to the convention. You—and by you I mean *nobody*—can read my platform at time.com/joelsplatform. After not reading it, write the DNC and demand that it adopt it. But even if it doesn't, I'm adding "Wrote 2012 DNC platform" to my résumé.



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10 Questions

Dirt-poor as a kid, Moran says her homeschooling consisted of watching *Ghostbusters* over and over again



Best-selling author **Caitlin Moran** on Kate Middleton, bed linen and how feminists do their hair

Your day job is writing for a newspaper. Didn't you once end up at a sex club with Lady Gaga?

Yes. This was at the time the rumor was going round that she was secretly a man. I saw her vagina when she was on the toilet. I quickly checked, as a journalist would, and I was able to break that news in the *Times* of London, one of the oldest and most respectable newspapers in the world.

We've been talking for only a minute, and you've already brought up vaginas. There was recently a bit of controversy in the U.S. about whether this word can be used in polite company.

The word, yes. The actual thing, often no. I read up on all the controversy in the U.S., and it seemed nuts to me. I wanted every woman who was in that room to stand up and just say the word *vagina* and sit back down again, like in *Spartacus*. I'm Spartacus! I'm Spartacus! I'm vagina!

Do feminists need humor to get their message out?

I will never dis my feminist forebears, because I can see why they were angry. If you just make what you think is right look cool, then you don't need to convince anybody. I see feminism as a massive party. It's cool, the idea that 50% of the population can now start doing things and having fun and experimenting with their hair and makeup.

Feminism is about experimenting with hair and makeup?

There are 3½ billion women in the world, so there are 3½ billion ways to be a feminist.

So talk about your hair.

It dates back from when I was 12 and enormously fat, and I thought I could either lose weight, which would make my body look smaller, or I could make my hair look bigger, which would make my body look smaller by comparison.

Why did you get a Kate Middleton makeover last year?

The *Times* likes to send me out as the token working-class, slightly overweight white person who pretends to be posh and thin. But as a feminist, I feel sorry for Kate Middleton because if she ever does put on weight, that will be headline news. I want us all to think about the fact that one day she might put on weight and prepare ourselves for when people go, "Have you seen Kate Middleton's put on weight?" to have a perfectly calm face and say, "So what?"

What did you think of the Olympics opening ceremony?

It was so brilliant and beautiful. The bit where I just burst into tears was when Tim Berners-

Lee, who'd invented the Internet and gave it away for free, turned up and typed out, "This is for everyone." I never knew he'd said that. I burst into tears, and my sister, who's a web programmer, said, "Oh, dude. Did you not know that quote?"

Your book, *How to Be a Woman*, quotes Simone de Beauvoir: "You're not born a woman, you become one."

It's like being in the *Girl Guides*. You have to get your walking-in-heels badge, your working-out-what-eyebrows-you're-going-to-have badge. I wanted my book to be, "Nah, don't bother with this. Nah, don't bother with that. Just be excellent to one another."

You're also writing a novel?

It's about how when you're a teenager, you realize you can't be the person that your parents want you to be. You then decide to make yourself. But it's got loads of jokes in it. And loads of bondage. It's very post-*Fifty Shades of Grey*.

Is *How to Be a Woman* doing for feminism what *Fifty Shades* has done for rope sales?

Also sheet sales. Every time before they have sex, she always goes, "And the sheets were very beautiful, 600 Italian thread count." That's why it's mommy porn. They just like the fact the bed's made. —CATHERINE MAYER



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